

APR 28 1930

# Current HISTORY

May



1930

## AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

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## CUBA UNDER MACHADO

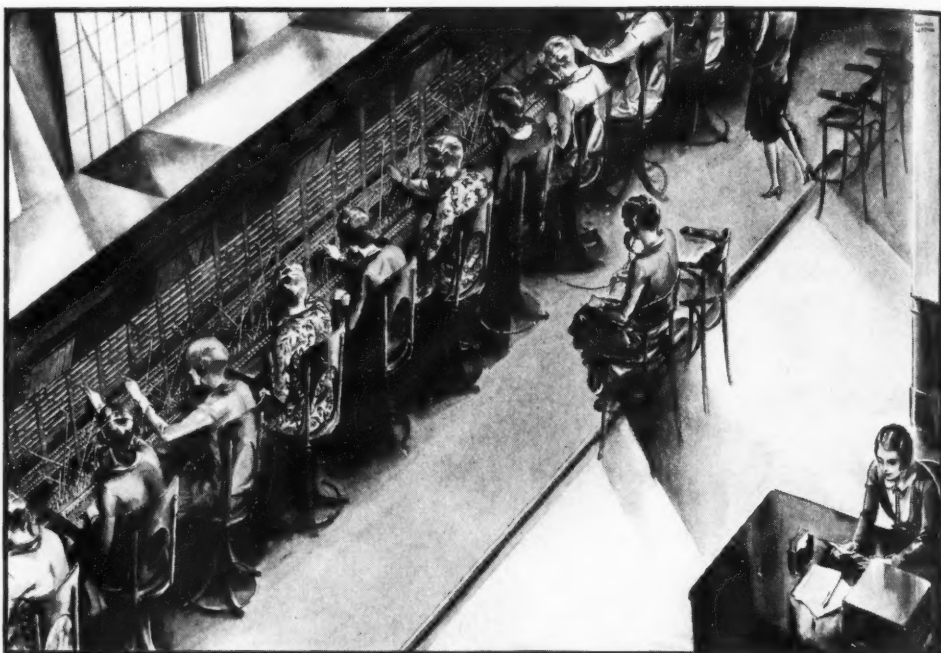
I—Charges of Dictatorship . . . . . *Wm. E. Walling*II—A Vindication of Machado . . . *Ambassador Ferrara*

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TAFT AND BALFOUR—Their Place in History

By *Dr. A. B. Hart, Frederick Lynch, Angus Fletcher*MONTH'S WORLD HISTORY . . . . *Fourteen Historians*



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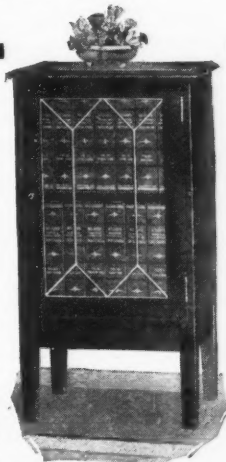
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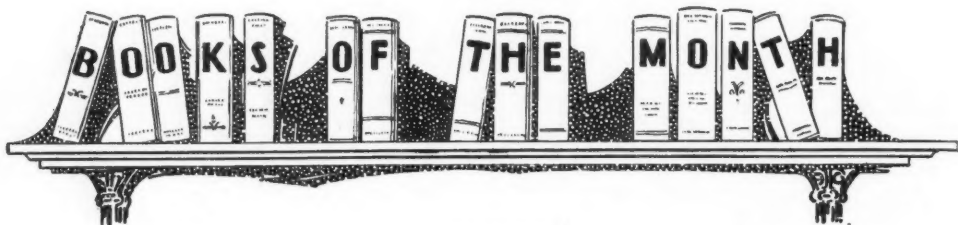
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# CURRENT HISTORY



VOL. XXXII.

MAY, 1930.

No. 2.

**T**HE whole thesis of General Palmer's ponderous study of our three great war Presidents\* hangs upon the author's discovery of an important plan for national defense, through the creation of a citizen army, conceived and drafted by George Washington in treatise form, but never enacted into law.

As a former member of General Pershing's staff, General Palmer is interested solely in the military implications of this discovery. These, to him, are momentous. Had Washington's plan been adopted, he argues, these United States would have been militarily prepared to repel all aggressions from Washington's time to the present, and this state of constant armed preparedness would have given pause to those who actually attacked her. The effect of this would have been to prevent or greatly reduce the cost in lives and money of three great wars now inscribed, with their millions of dead, on the pages of our national history—the War of 1812, the Civil War and the World War of recent memory.

Applying his thesis to Lincoln and Wilson, he points out that the complete lack of a national defense plan placed a crushing burden on both these two great war Presidents; that they surmounted these obstacles was due to their own achievement and to their individual greatness.

General Pershing in his Introduction sums up the chief value of the book in the following words: "This discovery \*\*\* throws a new light on Washington's military wisdom. Its absence furnishes a new explanation of more than a century of unpreparedness."

\* \* \*

How many Americans know anything about Benedict Arnold, beyond the indis-

putable fact that he was a traitor to his country? This biography† by Charles Coleman Sellers is a



BENEDICT ARNOLD

fascinating book, giving as it does, if not a new interpretation, at least a wider and—let us dare to say it—a juster view of an extremely complex personality.

Tracing Arnold's career from his early days as "apothecary and bookseller" in quiet New Haven, and through his rise to fame (and infamy) in the Revolutionary War to his death in England in 1801, the author gives us a vivid picture of a fiery and dynamic personality paradoxically combining an almost Spanish punctiliousness of personal honor with an utter lack of moral scruple.

He follows his exploits through the terrific hardships of the march to Quebec to his heroic achievements at Saratoga. He shows us one of the most brilliant and dashing Generals of the Revolution, highly esteemed even by George Washington, always in trouble because of his morbid sensitiveness to criticism and opposition, who quarreled with every superior he had.

And finally he traces the stages by which Arnold came to the great betrayal. It is regrettable that this is the weakest part of the book, yet it must be said in extenuation of the writer that Arnold's motives and psychology in this betrayal even yet remain mysterious. Let us admit

\**Washington, Lincoln, Wilson: Three War Statesmen.* By John McAuley Palmer. With an introduction by General John J. Pershing. 1930. Doubleday, Doran & Co., Garden City, N. Y. \$5.

†*Benedict Arnold: The Proud Warrior.* By Charles Coleman Sellers. Minton, Balch & Co., New York, 1930. \$3.50.

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that he was the victim of a persecution neurosis; that he continually felt himself the victim of injustice at the hands of his compatriots; that he believed the American cause was so weak that it could be crushed at a blow; that he wanted higher rank and needed money. But after all this has been stated, how could any American General who retained a shred of patriotic feeling, self-respect or personal honor coldbloodedly carry out a plan to betray the cause of his own country, struggling in the throes of a revolution, to its embattled enemies?

It is some satisfaction to know that of the £20,000 which Arnold originally demanded for his betrayal, later reduced to £10,000, he ultimately received only £6,300; that he was always suspected and distrusted by the British after he joined them, and that he had to live twenty years longer in the knowledge that his name was execrated in his native land as the archtraitor of American history.

\* \* \*

*Six Horses* is a work\* that revives all the romantic thrills of the schoolboy of forty years ago as he followed the holding up of the "stage coach" by fierce, hard-galloping, war-whooping Indian warriors. This book gives—rather at too great length, it must be confessed—the history of Western stage-coaching, which began in the gold-rush days of '49, reached its crest in the 1860s, and died out after the advent of the railroad in 1868-69. The account includes the operation of the famous Pony Express.

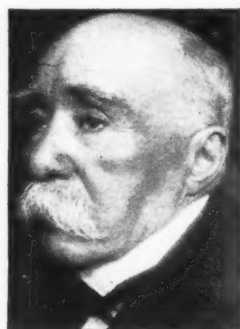
Here was a national system of passenger transportation by pure horse power that reached, like the railroad of today, from coast to coast, and that ran on regular schedules. It was an amazing achievement, but entailed such sufferings from rough roads, hunger and thirst, sleeplessness and other bodily discomforts, and peril of death on the part of the passengers, as to elicit the compassion of every modern reader. Going to sea in a clipper ship was a mild adventure compared with this wild tossing about in a narrow space as the coaches, drawn by six spanking, galloping horses, flew up hill and down dale over the most primitive roads—especially after the Indian attacks began.

Yet it is a story filled with heroism, drama and pioneer romance on a dangerous frontier which played a brave part in the history and development of our nation. This is a striking story, and it was

time, with these days vanishing with the old West over the horizon, that it should be told.

\* \* \*

After Martet's transcription of Clemenceau's vitriolic comments on the World War and his colleagues, this last personal apologia from the Tiger's own pen† comes



The Associated Press  
GEORGES CLEMENCEAU

somewhat as an anti-climax. This posthumously published book is indeed the great French fighter's last word: he will never speak again. But even from the grave that fiercely passionate, ruthless, disillusioned soul roars forth scorn and defiance of its enemies.

Clemenceau's fiercest fulminations are hurled at his chief personal enemies in life, Foch and Poincaré, and at Germany, whom his feverish imagination erects into the shape and stature of a gigantic demon—France's arch foe and a Teutonic anti-Christ already again preparing to plunge *la douce France* into the abyss. Germany he hated all through his life, and he died with words of hatred for Germany on his lips.

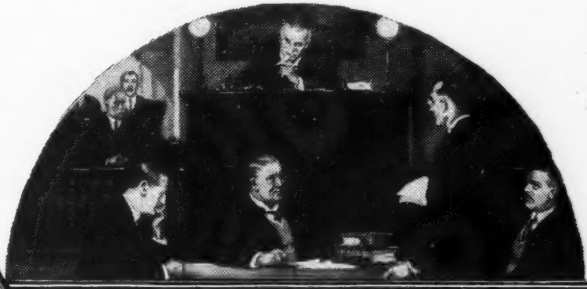
He assails both Foch and Poincaré—and also General Pershing ("Pershing, with his tight-lipped smile")—for their united resistance to his imperious desire to hurl the first American contingents immediately into battle instead of waiting until the American Army could be thrown in as a unit. He attacks Foch fiercely, charges him with insubordination for suppressing a telegram to the German Government, and taxes him with base ingratitude. Clemenceau saved Foch from dismissal by the Chamber of Deputies when the Germans smashed through the French lines at Chemin des Dames. In return, Foch thanked—Lloyd George!

Clemenceau's furious rage at the peace treaty, at Wilson with his "smile like a benevolent wolf," at the "mutilations" wrought to the treaty since it was signed, substituting "defeat for victory," is vented with all Clemenceau's characteristic vigor. As a polemic this last utterance of the dying Tiger is superb. To his peaceful grave in the soil of his ancestors Clemen-

\**Six Horses*. By Captain William Banning and George Hugh Banning. New York and London: The Century Company, 1930. \$4.

†*Grandeur and Misery of Victory*. By Georges Clemenceau. Translated by F. M. Atkinson. New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co. \$5.





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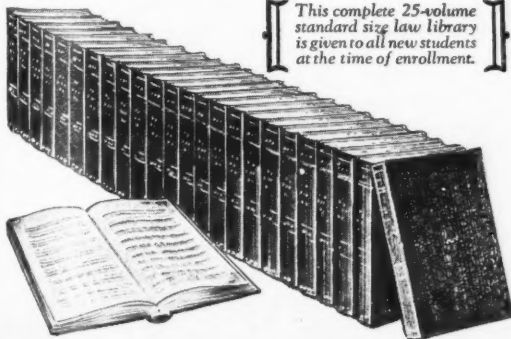
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ceau went convinced of the correctness of his fixed principle of life—"Hate thine enemies."

\* \* \*

All the old Wild West of the Texan herdsmen of the late '60s has been reconstructed by a writer who has a double advantage in combining careful scholarship with vivid imaginative quality.\* He paints an unforgettable picture of early pioneer life in the '60s and '70s—the time when the wild Texan cowboys, with their vast herds of equally wild cattle, drove up over the famous Chisholm Trail to Abilene, Kan.

This small and quiet village of inoffensive wheat farmers living on the edge of the strange and lonely plains was soon transformed into a veritable hell of lawlessness, with everything wide open—saloons, dance halls, prostitution—a lurid nightmare punctuated by shootings, murders and assaults. The story of how the peaceful element at last revolted and elected a Mayor (brother of the writer), and of how the new city head at last found a sheriff who had the nerve, the physical and moral courage and the brains to "clean up" this anarchy, makes the book one that must be read to be appreciated.

\* \* \*

There is little that is new in Maurois's new biography of Byron.† This brilliant French writer has mainly taken the well-known facts about Byron's life and woven them into a highly entertaining narrative in which Byron's multiple amours with great ladies play the principle part.

In doing this Maurois has built up a vivid picture of the society of the Regency. He studies this milieu intensively, and Byron's relation to it. His chief aim is to interpret Byron's character and conduct psychologically, basing this on Byron's family history—a dark and sinister record on both the maternal Gordon and the paternal Byron side—"Gordon violence and Byron sensuality."

He lists a number of contributing factors, emphasizing Byron's physical infirmity, which explained much of his bitterness and hatred of the world, and his physical beauty, which he used to gain revenge at the cost of the many foolish women, attracted by his reputation for immorality, who adored him and paid the penalty.

\**Conquering Our Great American Plains*. By Stuart Henry. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc., 1930. \$5.

†*Byron*. By André Maurois. Translated from the French by Hamish Miles. New York: D. Appleton & Co. \$5.

An amatory processional. Maurois follows in detail Byron's illicit relations with his half-sister, Augusta, which he seeks to palliate, and his experiences with other ladies, such as Lady Caroline Lamb, Lady Oxford, Lady Frances Webster, Claire Clairmont, Marianna Legati, Margarita Cogni, Countess Guiccioli, Lady Melbourne, and, above all, Annabella Milbanke, whom he married and tortured with inhuman cruelty.

The whole work is a scandalous chronicle, brilliantly put together by a writer thoroughly familiar with a subject which he has illuminated by many imaginative touches and penetrating psychological interpretation.

\* \* \*

To those familiar with the school of sexual "reëducationalists" that has sprung up in recent years, whose chief exponent is Bertrand Russell but which has many obscure followers, this book will bring nothing new except amazement that a writer of brilliant promise devoted to belles-lettres should think it worth his while to put into words such a sexual nightmare as *Love in the Machine Age*.‡

No Tussaud Chamber of Horrors, apparently, could equal the horrors of "patriarchal" sexual institutions which have preceded through thousands of years the ultra-modern "revolt of youth"—arranged marriage, homosexuality, prostitution, "polite" (!) adultery, incestuous infantile obsessions, perversions and sexual neuroses. This is relieved by discussions of "free motherhood," "sex as amusement" (including "petting," "necking," and their logical consequence), and guidance as to how the transition from "patriarchal" homosexuality to heterosexuality may be effected. The book as a whole is as sickening as it is futile.

\* \* \*

George Sylvester Viereck, until recently intimate friend of the former Kaiser, German sympathizer, and stormy petrel of the World War period in the United States, a poet of considerable merit and a brilliant writer of erotic fiction, has proved himself in this new book§ to be also a skillful journalist.

About two years ago the writer of these lines collided with Viereck in the anti-chamber of Mussolini's office in the

‡*Love in the Machine Age*. A Psychological Study of the Transition From Patriarchal Society. By Floyd Dell. New York: Farrar & Rinehart, Inc., 1930. \$3.50.

§*Glimpses of the Great*. By George Sylvester Viereck, co-author of *My First Two Thousand Years*. New York: The Macaulay Company. \$5.

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Palazzo Chigi. Dressed in formal black, and looking preternaturally solemn, he was ushered into the great man's presence. He came out looking even more solemn than before. He was already on his tour of Europe, "hunting lions."

The present work is his "bag," most generously filled with big game: Mussolini, studied in "seven phases"; Bernard Shaw, Kaiser Wilhelm and the German Crown Prince, Georges Clemenceau, President Hindenburg, General Joffre, Aristide Briand, General Ludendorff, Marshal Foch, Prince Rupprecht of Bavaria, Herr Hjalmar Schacht, Ramsay MacDonald, Henri Barbusse, the Queen of Belgium; also such experts on sex as Dr. Steinach, Dr. Voronoff, Dr. Hirschfeld, et al.; Einstein, Count Keyserling, Emil Ludwig, Israel Zangwill, Hauptmann, Schnitzler, Henry Ford and others.

The mere enumeration shows Viereck's interest and preoccupation with politics, the war, racial questions, literature, philosophy and sex. It is impossible to analyze here the contents of this book, containing nearly 500 pages of interviews, but it is not unjust to say that most of it is ephemeral journalism and not history. But it is brilliant reporting. All in all, it is an entertaining book, in parts very much worth reading.

\* \* \*

Mencken's *Treatise on the Gods*\* is a serious work. In distinction to other recent books on religion, including the devastating broadside by Harry Elmer Barnes, Mencken's study bears no pronounced mark of atheistic *parti pris*. Nor any trace of the believer, it might be added. With the impassivity of the surgeon, he probes the remote origins of religion among primitive peoples, traces their analogies, explains and rationalizes the rise of magicians, priests and churches, and discusses various forms of organized religion, such as Mohammedanism, Judaism, Shintoism, &c., and finally Christianity.

All this finally leads up to his main thesis—that, whatever its denials, organized religion has always sought to crush the development of human personality; to crush, in other words, the irresistible march of human progress. On the other hand, in the struggle precipitated and continued down through the ages religion has been not the victor but the vanquished. Its main implement—fear—has lost its edge through the gigantic increments of human knowledge—for to knowledge superstitious fear is but a pale and

sickly ghost. As yet the collapse of religion is limited to the upper levels, but the implication for the future is clear.

Scholarly, moderate in tone, and luminously expounded, this book, which has already been bitterly attacked, is an amazingly thought-provoking piece of work. Its chief defect lies in its ignoring of the indisputable fact that religion—Christian and non-Christian alike—still holds sway over the minds of the great majority of the human race today, who have not eaten and will not eat of Mencken's much-lauded Eden fruit of knowledge.

FRANCIS SNOW.

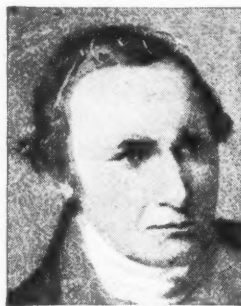
## *The Virginia Plutarch*

By DAVID SAVILLE MUZZEY

PROFESSOR OF HISTORY, COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

A *VIRGINIA WHO'S WHO* would be a more appropriate title than *The Virginia Plutarch* for the series of biographical sketches of Virginia-born notables from the Emperor Powhatan to Woodrow Wilson contained in these two

attractively bound volumes,† since there is no hint in them of the Plutarchian method of presenting parallel careers taken from Greek and Roman history. Nor are the reasons which Dr. Bruce gives in the preface for selection of heroes very convincing.



PATRICK HENRY

He passes over Henry Clay because Clay, while born in Virginia, "always remained Harry of the West"; yet he includes John Sevier and Sam Houston, whose early migration from their childhood's home was equally definite. He chooses Daniel Morgan rather than Light-horse Harry Lee because the former "was victor in more important battles," and "Jeb" Stuart rather than Joseph E. Johnston because Stuart "was the more brilliant and chivalrous soldier of the two." He includes Maury in preference to McCormick on the ground that "the scientist was a more lasting benefactor to mankind as a whole than the inventor." And one suspects, from not a few indications of

\**Treatise on the Gods*. By H. L. Mencken. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1930. \$3.

†*The Virginia Plutarch*. By Philip A. Bruce. University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 1929. 2 vols. 328, 353 pages.



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\* \* \*

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PAUL F. BOURSCHIEDT  
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sectional bias in the volumes, that he omits such conspicuous Virginians as Admiral Farragut and General George H. Thomas because they fought for the Union in the Civil War.

Students of American history owe Dr. Bruce a debt of grateful recognition for his admirable work done in former years, notably, *The Economic, Institutional and Social Histories of Virginia in the Seventeenth Century* and *The History of the University of Virginia*; but one is regretfully compelled to say that the present volumes add nothing to the author's reputation. They seem to be rather random reminiscences, composed without scrupulous attention to accuracy, careless of the results of recent critical scholarship, and often unduly indulgent to popular legends which have little historical support. There are, to be sure, excellent chapters on some of the minor figures, especially those of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries (Yardley, Berkeley, Spotswood and William Boyd); but the treatment of the men of the first rank, like Washington, Jefferson, Marshall, Lee and Woodrow Wilson, is neither inspiring nor enlightening. Washington, like Caesar's Gaul, is divided into three parts, one chapter being devoted to his part in the French and Indian War (chiefly a humdrum account of his mission to the French forts and the disastrous expedition of Braddock), another to Washington in the Revolution, and a third to Washington as President. The chapters are rhetorical in style, commonplace in matter and uncritical in method. The author takes no cognizance of the material that Samuel F. Batchelder used in the investigation of the story of Washington's taking command of the army under the old elm in Cambridge, or that Rupert Hughes has marshaled to test the credibility of the prayer in the snow at Valley Forge. In short, the whole tone of the triad of chapters on Washington suggests more the historical standards of Lord's *Beacon Lights of History* than of a distinguished scholar of the twentieth century.

Carelessness in proofreading may be responsible for numerous serious errors in dates, but unfortunately it cannot absolve the author from misstatements so persistent as to exclude the excuse of a mere typographical slip. Take the case of Jefferson, for example. Dr. Bruce deals with the Albemarle County resolves, Jefferson's composition of *The Summary View of the Rights of British America*, and the convention at Williamsburg which chose the delegates to the First Continental Con-



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gress. These important events of July and August, 1774, he puts in the year 1773, repeating the wrong date three times in three pages. On the next page (204) he has Jefferson and Dickinson submitting a report "in July, 1770," to the Congress, which did not meet till September, 1774. When he returns to Jefferson, he makes him "take his seat in the Cabinet in April, 1789"—before Washington was inaugurated—and resign "from the post of Secretary of State before the expiration of Washington's second term," a phrase which hardly suggests the truth that he resigned before the end of the first year of Washington's second term. Again, the author says that when the election of 1800 was thrown into the House of Representatives, "Jefferson and Aaron Burr were at first in the van for the race," which can only mean that there were other contestants, and implies that the latter ultimately overtook Jefferson and Burr. Two pages later Dr. Bruce speaks of "the prospect [in January, 1802] of such an occurrence as the cession of Louisiana to Bonaparte by Spain," whereas the cession had been agreed upon by the Treaty of San Ildefonso in the Autumn of 1800.

It would, of course, have been impossible for the author, in dealing with the men whose careers were contemporaneous and whose responsibilities for major policies were shared, not to mention certain important events in various chapters. Yet a due regard for the construction of the work as a whole would have avoided repeating the story (sometimes with contradictions in the narratives) of such a well-known event as the Louisiana Purchase in the chapters on Jefferson, Merriwether Lewis, James Madison and James Monroe. Similarly, strategy and battles in the Civil War are retold in the chapters on Lee, Stonewall Jackson and "Jeb" Stuart.

Into his gallery of statesmen, explorers and soldiers, Dr. Bruce has introduced one literary portrait. The chapter on Edgar Allan Poe, who, by the way, was not a native of Virginia nor in any way influential in the history of the State, is instructive not only for the relief it brings the reader in turning from politics and war to art, but perhaps even more for the contrast of its style with that of the rest of the book. The closing pages of the chapter on Poe seem to be from a different pen entirely from that of the other chapters. And so, in fact, they are. For the author here incorporates the language of his own careful composition of fifteen to twenty years ago.

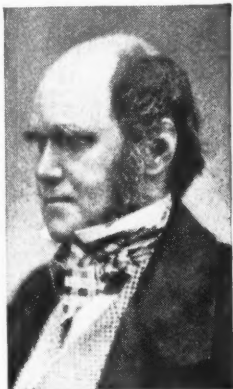


## Why Be an Evolutionist?

By HORACE M. KALLEN

PROFESSOR OF PHILOSOPHY, THE NEW SCHOOL  
FOR SOCIAL RESEARCH, NEW YORK

THIS little book\* of seventy-three pages consists of five chapters. Its heart is contained in the second, third and fourth, which discuss the ancestry of man, why and how he originated and the society of the future. The other chapters seem to have been written to frame them in and to link them together. But I do not see that anything whatsoever is added by the opening chapter on "Evolution and Religion," or the closing one on "The God of the Fundamentalist and the God of the Evolutionist."



CHARLES DARWIN

The question which gives the book its title is ostensibly addressed to believers in God who have no faith in evolution. I am frank to say that if I were such a person I should not find the answer Mr. Cleland offers to the question, "Why Be An Evolutionist?" either persuasive or convincing. The answer consists in the assertion that a God who works by means of evolution is "nobler" than one who works by special creation. Evolution is a principle of order or Providence working slowly up through the ages, by means of the struggle for survival, to that paragon, contemporary man, "the chief product of a great life-flood of millions of years." Special creation makes "the history of past life a confused, senseless, chaotic thing \* \* \* a record of useless misery, brought on by a Creator who was a demon only to destroy."

I am afraid that Mr. Cleland got his notion of the logic and philosophy of special creation from Mr. Bryan. All the charges he brings against special creationism the educated champions of that doctrine bring against evolutionism—especially cruelty, purposelessness, empti-

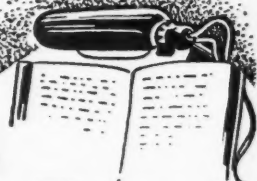
\**Why Be An Evolutionist?* By Heidman Fitzgerald Cleland. New York: Coward-McCann, Inc., 1930.

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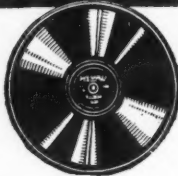
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ness, chaos. They say it deprives God of mercy and life of meaning.

No, you can't save the moral character of God by ascribing evolution to Him as His way of doing things. If one accepts evolution one does so without regard to how it affects the character of God; one accepts it because it is a fruitful and satisfactory instrument of analysis and interpretation of the nature and experience of man and his world.

## A New Economic Order

By WILLIAM MacDONALD

THIS book,\* we are told, was originally planned as a symposium on "ways of transforming the present competitive system into a cooperative order," and the last fourteen chapters are devoted to a presentation of "specific ways and means" of aiding the transformation. To these chapters it was later decided to prefix eight others setting out the pros and cons of capitalism, fascism, communism and socialism, the four great systems or movements from which the new order may be expected to emerge. The book is thus a brief survey of certain aspects of the existing economic and social situation, and an outline of changes already in progress or which the writers of the later chapters think it would be wise and practicable to make.

The first eight chapters do not call for extended comment. The case for capitalism is presented by Professor E. R. A. Seligman and countered by Henry R. Mussey of the *New York Nation*. Angelo Flavio Guidi, head of the press office of the Fascisti League of North America, marshals statistical and other data in defense of fascism, while Professor W. Y. Elliott of Harvard exhibits Italy as in a condition of relapse. The task of interpreting communism favorably falls to Anna Rochester, and that of critical evisceration to Professor Jerome Davis of Yale, while the arguments for and against socialism are set down by Norman Thomas and John E. Edgerton, president of the National Association of Manufacturers.

In the main, each of these writers says about what any writers of equal competence would be expected to say in similar circumstances. Each is reasonably convincing to such as are already convinced; neither makes a convincing appeal to those on the opposite side. Mr. Mussey,

\**A New Economic Order*. Edited by Kirby Page. New York: Harcourt Brace, \$3.

who sums up his criticism in the contention that capitalism "does not embody any comprehensible moral principle," and "offers no promise of developing such principles," has no difficulty in pointing to a large number of undoubted evils and failures in capitalistic society. Not all, certainly, who are impressed by Signor Guidi's recital of the achievements of fascism will follow him in his defense of the censorship of the Italian press, but Professor Elliott turns from history to perilous ground of prophecy when he declares that the Fascist leaders are "dragging a gagged Italy along a dangerous road at whose end looms a precipice of economic débâcle or war, or both." Mr. Thomas, again, carries the fighting into the enemy's camp by asserting that "when the meaning of socialism is properly understood the burden of proof is on any intelligent and decent human being to say why he is not a Socialist," but there are, alas, various understandings of socialism, as such a career as that of J. Ramsay MacDonald abundantly shows, and neither the philosophy nor the program nor the organization for which Mr. Thomas pleads seems to penetrate far beyond the capitalists' first-line trenches.

Much more interesting are the chapters which show how, sometimes with dogma but more often without, the amelioration of social conditions is actually making

*Continued on Page 408*

## PROF. FELIX FRANKFURTER

PROFESSOR OF LAW, HARVARD UNIVERSITY.

on

*"The Supreme Court and the Public"*

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JUNE ISSUE

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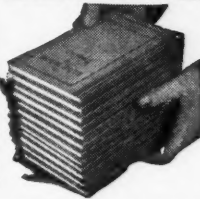
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# CURRENT HISTORY

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## Pictorial Section



THE POPE'S PROTEST AGAINST SOVIET ATHEISM  
Pius XI before the high altar in St. Peter's, Rome, during the mass of expiation,  
reparation and intercession held on March 19

Times Wide World

THE NEW GERMAN CHANCELLOR



Associated Press

HEINRICH BRÜNING

Leader of the German Centrist Party, who formed a new Cabinet and gained a vote of confidence in the Reichstag after the Mueller coalition government, in office since June, 1928, fell on March 27

HEAD OF GERMAN REICHSBANK

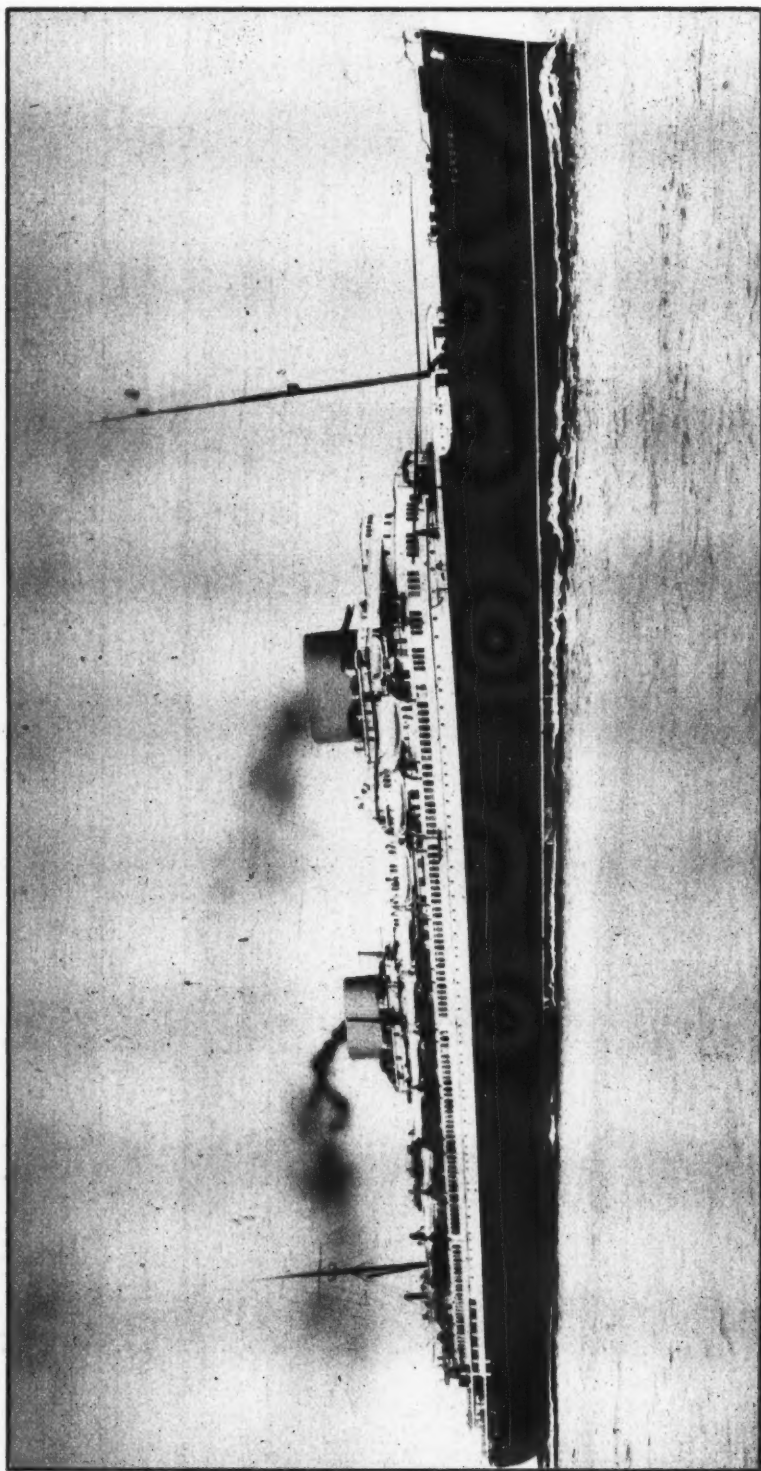


Times Wide World

DR. HANS LUTHER

A former Chancellor, who on April 3 became president of the Reichsbank. He succeeded Dr. Hjalmar Schacht, who resigned rather than accept responsibility for carrying out the Young plan

## THE FASTEST TRANSATLANTIC LINER

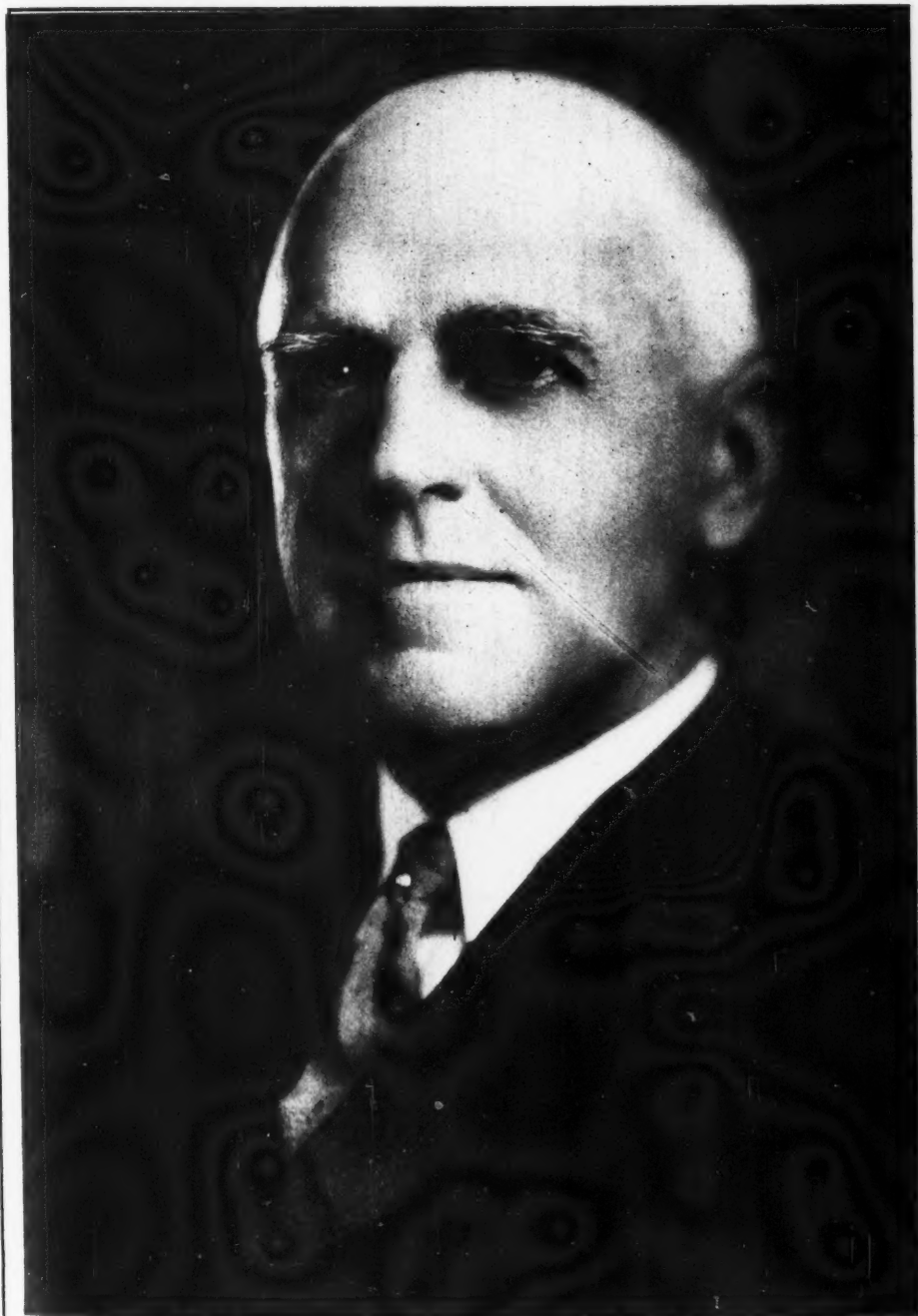


THE EUROPA  
Which completed her maiden trip from Cherbourg to New York on March 25 in 4 days, 17 hours and 6 minutes, this being 18 minutes faster than the record made by her sister ship, the Bremen, in October, 1929

Courtesy North German Lloyd



IN CHARGE OF THE CENSUS

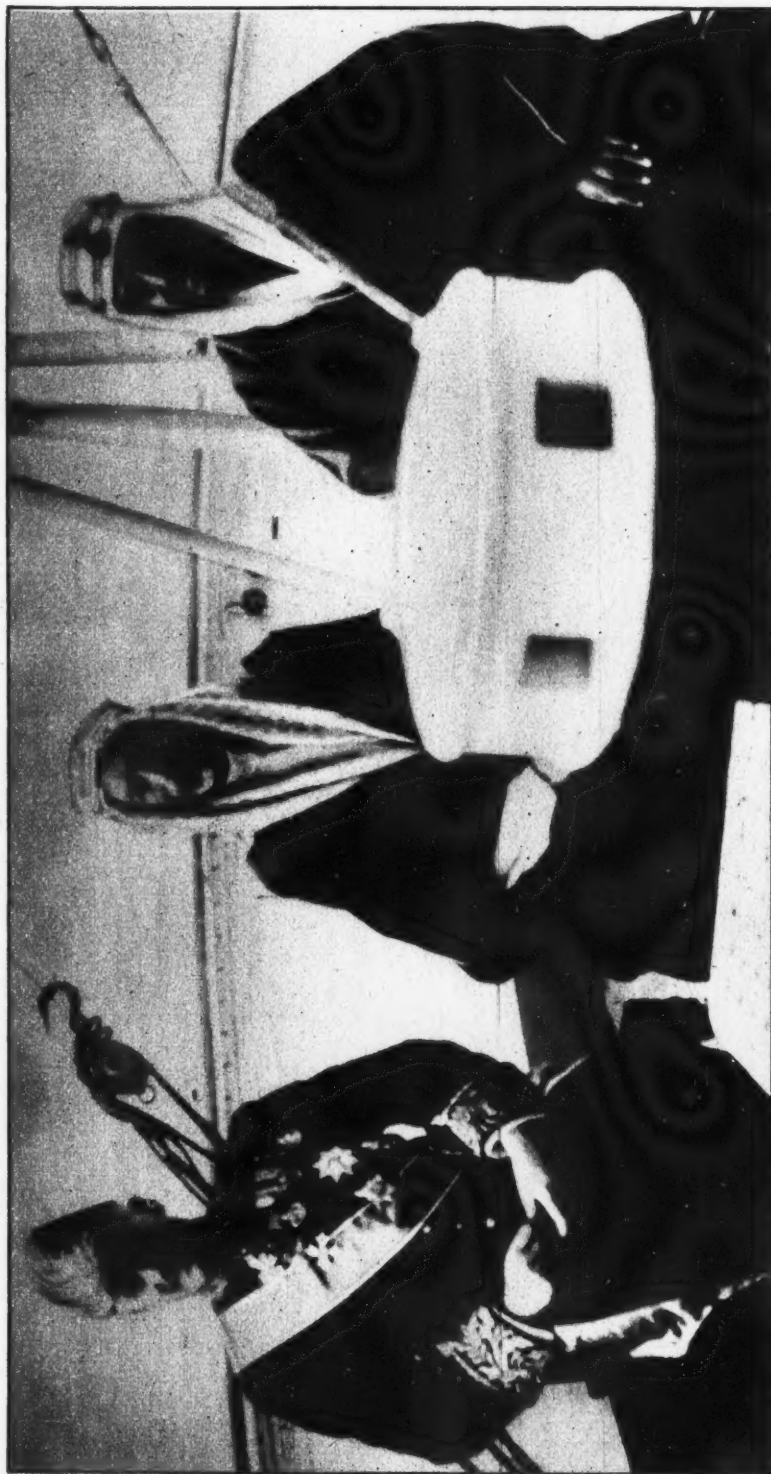


Harris & Ewing

**DR. WILLIAM M. STEUART**

Chief of the Washington Bureau, which, during April, directed the gigantic task of taking the ten-year census. In addition to population, employment and radio statistics were gathered in this census

## PEACE IN ARABIA



Acme

KING FEISAL AND KING IBN SAUD  
The ruler of Iraq and the ruler of the Hejaz and Nejd, traditional Arab enemies, with Sir Francis Humphreys, British High Commissioner of Iraq. They met on board a British warship and signed a treaty of peace and friendship in February

## THE DEATH OF FRAU WAGNER



Times Wide World  
**FRAU COSIMA WAGNER**  
Wife of Richard Wagner and  
daughter of Franz Liszt, who  
died on April 1 at the age  
of 92



**SIEGFRIED WAGNER**  
Son of Cosima and Richard Wagner, who conducts his father's works and has for many years collaborated with his mother in organizing annual Wagner festivals at Baireuth



**WAHNFRIED**

Richard Wagner's famous villa at Baireuth, where his widow recently died

## EGYPT'S PROGRESS TOWARD INDEPENDENCE



THE EGYPTIAN DELEGATION  
Headed by Prime Minister Nahas Pasha, who recently arrived in London for a conference with Mr. Henderson, British Foreign Secretary, on the subject of complete withdrawal of British protection from Egypt

Times Wide World



## CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE IN INDIA



Times Wide World

### MAHATMA GANDHI, INDIAN NATIONALIST

Leading a band of his followers in a 200-mile march to the Arabian Sea, where on April 1 he opened the civil disobedience campaign by manufacturing salt from sea water in protest against the British salt monopoly. Beside Gandhi is Manilal Kothari



### GANDHI'S CRUSADERS

Starting their march from Ahmedabad to the sea

P. & A.

A NEW SUPREME COURT JUSTICE



Times Wide World

**JOHN J. PARKER**

Appointed Associate Justice of the Supreme Court on March 21 by President Hoover, to succeed the late Justice Sanford. Judge Parker was Federal Judge of the Fourth Circuit Court of North Carolina

# Current HISTORY

---

## *The United States Supreme Court Molding the Constitution*

By FELIX FRANKFURTER

PROFESSOR OF LAW, HARVARD UNIVERSITY

SENATE OPPOSITION to nominations for the Supreme Bench is no novelty in American history. The Senate has always acted upon the constitutional requirement that the President "shall appoint \* \* \* judges of the Supreme Court" but only "by and with the advice and consent of the Senate." Participation by the Senate in appointments to the Court has been especially active in regard to filling the Chief Justiceship. His own party was ready to reject John Marshall in 1801 if they could have persuaded John Adams to name another. The second greatest Chief Justice—Roger B. Taney—was confirmed by a vote of 29 to 15 in 1836 after a bitter fight of nearly three months against an opposition led by Webster and Clay. Morrison R. Waite became Chief Justice in 1874 only after the Senate had successfully resisted two prior nominations by Grant, and even for the gentle Fuller, in 1888, the vote

of confirmation was 41 to 20. The Associate Justices have similarly had to meet the Senate's constitutional duty of approval. Not a few nominations have been actually rejected. The great Taney himself came to the Chief Justiceship after he had previously failed of confirmation as an Associate Justice. Bitter opposition held up President Wilson's nomination of Louis D. Brandeis for four months. By common consent, Mr. Justice Brandeis already belongs to the pre-eminent figures in the Court's history. Historians are agreed that hostility to his nomination was derived from opposition to his economic and social views.

Seldom, indeed, have nominations for the Court been opposed on the score of personal disqualification. Fundamentally, the objections have been political. They have concerned the general outlook of nominees upon the public issues that in different periods of



Portrait by Rembrandt Peale

JOHN JAY

First Chief Justice of the United States

the country's history were likely to come before the Court. By the very nature of its place in the American scheme of government the Supreme Court is in the stream of public affairs, and its decisions thus have entangled the Court in political controversy. Frequently they have led to proposals for constitutional amendments, and twice feeling was intense enough to secure such amendments. The case of *Chisholm v. Georgia*, decided in 1792, led to the Eleventh Amendment barring suits by an individual against a State except by the latter's consent. A hundred years later came the *Income Tax Cases*, in effect denying to the Federal Government power to levy income taxes. These decisions led to the Sixteenth Amendment.

Another decision, the famous *Dred Scott* case, probably helped to promote the Civil War, as it certainly required the Civil War to bury its dicta.

These are striking instances, but the Court has been entangled in political controversy, barring an occasional quiet decade, throughout most of its history. Such is not the experience of courts generally, except on rare occasions. English courts for the last century have been out of the swirl of politics. When taking sides on an acute public issue, however, they, too, occasionally become politically involved. Thus, the development of the British Labor Party was considerably fostered by two decisions of the House of Lords affecting the status of trade unions—the *Taff Vale* case in 1901 and the *Osborne* judgment in 1909. When courts deal with political issues there are bound to be political repercussions. In so far as courts deal with ordinary controversies between private litigants, they are outside the current of public affairs and public interest, except in an occasional case of dramatic human appeal. When issues are essentially political, public discussion is inevitable. When feelings strongly divide opinion, when the issues touch intimately the daily concerns of the public, political controversy will sooner or later break out and criticism not infrequently become raucous. To understand the political debates in which the Supreme Court has been involved from time to time, one must understand the nature of the Court's business. While the Supreme Court has always been arbiter of issues intrinsically political in their consequences, this is pre-eminently the characteristic of the Court's business in our own day.

In our system of government, the Supreme Court is the final authority in the relationship of the individual to the State and to the United States, and of the forty-eight States to one another and to the United States. While the Court thus deals primarily with problems of government, it does not itself initiate acts of government.



What it does is to define limitations of power. It marks the boundaries between State and national action. It determines the sphere of legislative and executive conduct. This involves a very complex process of adjustment, formally accomplished by finding meaning for language in the Constitution and sometimes for purposes derived from the Constitution but unexpressed in its language.

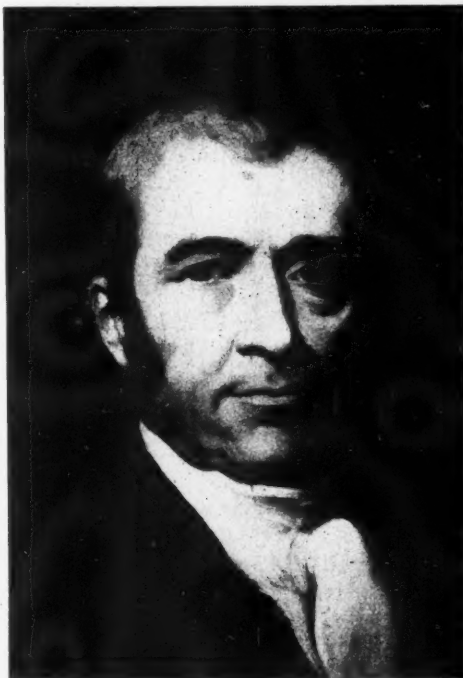
The multitudinous cases involving public issues that come before the Supreme Court fall broadly into two types.

Certain provisions of the Constitution are relatively so definite in their history and purpose that they confine judicial review within narrow limits. They are not often tested, and still less often is the Supreme Court troubled with doubt about their meaning. Supreme Court decisions in this field allow rather meager play for individual opinion as to policy by individual Justices. Whether a crime is "infamous," whether a tax is laid upon articles "exported from any State," whether a fact tried by jury has been "re-examined in any Court of the United States" according to the rules of the common law, whether the protection against "unreasonable searches and seizures" has been invaded, are neither frequent nor fighting issues before the Court—except when a case involving "unreasonable searches and seizures" becomes part and parcel of the political controversy about prohibition.

But the broad undefined clauses of the Constitution and the general theories which underlie it give rise to very different problems. "No State shall \* \* \* deprive any person of life, liberty or property without due process of law" are the vague words which hold the fate of life and death over State action. Congress shall have power to "regulate commerce \* \* \* among the several States" is the text upon which the Court relies, both in denying to the States power to tax vast business enterprises within their borders, and in denying to Congress power to regulate child labor in the manufacture of goods shipped from State to State. As one of the most distinguished of

Federal judges, the late Charles M. Hough, once said, "due process of law" is a phrase of "convenient vagueness." In finding the meaning for such phrases the Court reads not the Constitution but its own minds. The Court is compelled to put meaning into the Constitution, not to take it out. In other words, the scope for "interpretation" of the Constitution is in this field relatively unrestricted, and the room for exercise of individual notions of policy by the Justices correspondingly wide. Being the most active sphere of Supreme Court litigation, naturally it is the most controversial.

But even in this broad field of the Supreme Court's work, important distinctions must be observed. In a federated country, especially one so vast in its territory and varied in its interests as ours, there must be authority somewhere to settle conflicts between the States and the central government. "I don't think," Mr. Justice Holmes has said, "the United States would come to



JOHN MARSHALL

Chief Justice, 1801-1835. From a painting by Lambdin

an end if we lost our power to declare an Act of Congress void. I do think the Union would be imperiled if we could not make that declaration as to the laws of the several States. For one in my place sees how often a local policy prevails with those who are not trained to national views and how often action is taken that embodies what the Commerce Clause was meant to end." The Supreme Court is properly the ultimate guardian of this national interest. But this guardianship is not a task of technical law. It requires statesmanship for which many a lawyer is wholly unsuited, however high-minded, and however learned in private law. Decisions under the Commerce Clause involve knowledge of facts and judgment upon policy. The stockyards acts, the first child labor law, the recapture clause of the Transportation Act, the West Virginia natural gas act, numerous recent tax laws, all turn on the way the Supreme Court applies the Commerce Clause. And the way in which the Court "applies" this clause depends on the attitude of the Justices toward the economic data and social policy which underlie this legislation.

Very different purposes from those of the Commerce Clause are served by the "due process of law" and "equal protection of the laws" clauses in the Constitution. In no wise are they a necessary adjustment in the distribution of powers under a federal system. It is highly significant that not a single constitution framed for English-speaking countries since the Fourteenth Amendment embodies its provisions. And one would indeed be lacking in a sense of humor to suggest that life, liberty and property are not adequately protected in Canada, Australia or South Africa. These broad guarantees in favor of the individual in our Constitution purport to embody, in the language of the Supreme Court, "immutable principles of liberty and justice." But they have opened the door to the widest differences of opinion as to what is liberty and what justice, what principles are immutable, and when they have been violated.

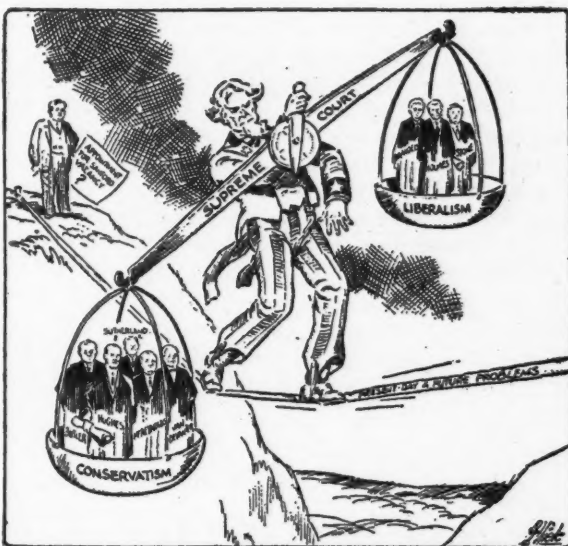
While all generalizations about history have an illusory definiteness, one may, without undue omission of qualifying details, note periods and tendencies in the history of the Supreme Court. After an almost negligible opening decade, the Court, under Marshall's leadership, dealt with the structure of the new government. Through legal doctrines it furthered the forces of nationality. After Marshall, "the irrepressible conflict" between State and national power was the predominant issue, until the Civil War, more effectively than the Constitution, finally made of the States a nation instead of a confederation. Then followed a third period in which national power was ascendant—the period of railroad and industrial development, of the exploitation of free lands and other natural resources. It was the period when *laissez faire* was the dominant philosophy. The Fourteenth Amendment was made the vehicle of its expression and "liberty of contract" was erected into a dogma. Social legislation emerged but was successfully resisted, except during the very brief leadership in the opposite direction of Chief Justice Waite. Speaking in 1913, Mr. Justice Holmes thus characterized this period: "When twenty years ago a vague terror went over the earth and the word socialism began to be heard, I thought and still think that fear was translated into doctrines that had no proper place in the Constitution or the common law."

Two cases particularly reveal the trend of the Court at this period. In the *Lochner* case a divided Court declared it beyond the power of a State to limit the working hours of bakery workers to ten, and in the *Adair* case a majority invalidated the carefully considered efforts of Congress to prevent the recurrence of a Pullman strike by prohibiting discrimination against trade unions. These two cases aroused widespread criticism. And not only by the laity. Thus, the *Adair* case was assailed by such conservative leaders of the bar as Richard Olney, Grover Cleveland's Attorney General and Secretary of State. Such excesses

of judicial individualism, resulting in fatal obstruction to needed reforms, finally found an effective voice of protest in Roosevelt. There followed a short period in which the Court was more tolerant toward legislation, less prone to write its own social-economic views into the Constitution. It was during this period that the Court found that "police power" of the States extends "to all the great public needs."

The World War and its aftermath ushered in once again a period dominated by fears—the fear of change, the fear of new ideas—and these fears were written into the Constitution. By a series of decisions, particularly in regard to public utilities, the dictum of President Coolidge that "the business of America is business" was also sought to be written into the Constitution. Thus, the recent Baltimore case which has stirred so much feeling was a holding that a net return of 6.26 per cent, calculated upon a most favorable basis of "present value" for a monopolistic street railway in Baltimore, is less than the Constitution requires.

At almost every point of legislative activity the Supreme Court interposed its veto against State action in matters confessedly of local concern, dealing solely with local situations and expressing remedies derived from local experience. Since 1920 the Court has invalidated more legislation than in fifty years preceding. Views that were antiquated twenty-five years ago have been resurrected in decisions nullifying minimum wage laws for women in industry, a standard-weight bread law to protect buyers from short weights and honest bakers from unfair competition, a law fixing the resale price of theatre tickets by ticket scalpers in New York, laws controlling exploitation of the unemployed by employment agencies and many tax laws. It is sometimes suggested that the Supreme Court has in-



Sandusky Star-Journal

Would an even balance make the going easier?

validated only a few laws compared with the total which has passed muster. Since 1921 the Court has held laws invalid in about 30 per cent of the cases under the due process clauses. Merely as a matter of arithmetic this is an impressive mortality rate. But a numerical tally of the cases does not tell the tale. In the first place, all laws are not of the same importance. Secondly, a single decision may decide the fate of a great body of legislation. This was true of *Coppage v. Kansas*, declaring invalid a Kansas law which prohibited discrimination against trade unionists, and of the decision nullifying the minimum wage law for the District of Columbia. Similarly, a single decision involving utility valuations affects utility valuations in every State and in every city of the Union. Moreover, the discouragement of legislative efforts through a particular adverse decision and the general weakening of the sense of legislative responsibility are destructive influences not measurable by statistics.

The crucial criticism of the Court is that it is putting constitutional authority behind the personal opinion of its members in disputed and difficult



questions of social policy. The strongest admonitions against this misuse of constitutional power have been uttered by members of the Court themselves. One might call the roll of some of the greatest names in the Court's history in support of the recent protest in the Senate against the Court's tendency to make of the Constitution a vehicle for the private views of Justices upon matters of policy. "Under the guise of interpreting the Constitution," wrote Mr. Justice Moody, "we must take care that we do not import into the discussion our own personal views of what would be wise, just and fitting rules of government to be adopted by a free people and confound them with constitutional limitations."

From time to time remedies have been suggested to guard against such misuse of judicial power. Roosevelt made popular the proposal of a recall of judicial decisions in constitutional matters, as John Marshall himself had apparently once given support to some such proposal. In 1829 Philip P. Barbour, Congressman from Virginia and later one of the Justices of the Court, proposed that no law be invalidated without the concurrence of more than a majority of the Court. The elder La Follette revived this idea in 1924. Such a scheme is in fact in operation in Ohio. But neither of these nor any other mechanical device fits the problem. Such remedies create new difficulties and do not help in the slightest the ultimate requirement for the Court, namely, men adequately equipped for the peculiar tasks committed to it. Everything turns on men.

Unless the President, the Senate and the country are alert to the qualities that Justices of the Supreme Court ought to possess and insist upon suitable appointees, no mechanics will save

us from the evils of narrow prepossessions by members of the Court. Contrariwise, if we are fully alive to the indispensable qualifications for the high work of the Court, and insistent upon measuring appointees accordingly, mechanical devices are superfluous and obstructive. It is because the Supreme Court wields the power that it wields, that appointment to the Court is a matter of general public concern and not merely a question for the profession. In good truth, the Supreme Court is the Constitution. Therefore, the most relevant things about an appointee are his breadth of vision, his imagination, his capacity for disinterested judgment, his power to discover and to suppress his prejudices. Judges must learn to transcend their own convictions, says the greatest of living judges. They must leave room for much, continues Mr. Justice Holmes, that they "hold dear to be done away with, short of revolution by the orderly change of law."

For the part played by unconscious partiality is tremendous. The significance of such psychological factors—"the potency of mental prepossessions"—is especially vital in the work of a tribunal exercising the powers possessed by the Supreme Court. Therefore it is that the men who are given this ultimate authority over legislature and executive, whose vote may determine the well-being of millions and affect the country's future, should be subjected to the most vigorous scrutiny before being given that power. In theory, judges wield the people's power. Through the effective exertion of public opinion, the people should determine to whom that power is entrusted. The country's well-being depends upon a far-sighted and statesmanlike Court. And the Court's ultimate dependence is upon the confidence of the people.



# The American Federation of Labor

The American Federation of Labor is subjected to a criticism in the subjoined article by a leading Socialist writer, who vehemently attacks its traditional philosophy as inadequate to meet present-day industrial conditions. The present policy of the Federation is vigorously upheld by its spokesman and first vice president, Matthew Woll.

## I—Failure of Its Policies

By JAMES ONEAL

EDITOR OF *The New Leader*; AUTHOR OF *The Workers in American History*

FEW WHO HAVE studied the American trade unions realize the effect which new machines, technological changes and mass production have had upon them and the philosophy of the American Federation of Labor. The striking economic changes of the past twenty years and especially during the last decade have been slowly undermining the old type of trade unionism. Nesting chiefly in old industries where some traces of craft lines and craft skill have to some extent survived the onward sweep of mass production, the unions exhibit evidence of decay.

If one turns to the preamble of the constitution of the American Federation of Labor he will there read the old statement of its philosophy. It comes down from the 80s and differs little from the declared purposes of the progressive trade unions of other modern nations. It reads: "A struggle is going on in all nations of the civilized world between the oppressors and the oppressed of all countries, a struggle between the capitalist and the laborer, which grows in intensity from year to year, and will work disastrous results to the toiling millions if they are not combined for mutual protection and benefit."

This was the philosophy which guided Samuel Gompers and his colleagues in the years when they were organizing workers into trade unions. It survived into the period of the World War. This philosophy began to fade after the de-

feat of the steel strike in 1919, the first great struggle with modern mass production. Samuel Gompers was ageing and was losing the old crusading spirit. Other veterans exhibited a similar decline, and a few years later Mr. Gompers was dead.

The old philosophy had its political program and form of political action, the action, however, differing from the trade union movement in other modern nations. Where the movement elsewhere asserted its independence of the conservative and middle-class parties as it grew strong, in the United States it continued the policy of approving or opposing various candidates of such parties, and this continues to be its policy.

Its political program was realistic and adapted to the needs of the labor army. In May, 1914, Mr. Gompers, speaking for the A. F. of L. before the United States Commission on Industrial Relations, revealed that, with two exceptions—the fixing of a minimum wage and a maximum workday by law—the political demands of the Federation agreed with the program of the Socialist party. In short, the whole social program of the Federation sought to democratize the State and to obtain social legislation for the working masses along lines similar to those pursued by the Labor and Socialist parties of many nations. Although he never fully defined his ultimate social ideal, Mr. Gompers said in 1900 that henceforth the "upper classes" would endeavor to

"stay the progress toward that condition of society in which no 'classes' will exist."

In 1910 the A. F. of L. voted to adhere to the International Secretariat of Trade Union Centres, which became the International Federation of Trade Unions in 1913, but in 1921 it severed its affiliation and has since remained isolated from the world movement, becoming more and more provincial in its outlook.

It is this turning away from fraternization with world labor that marks the beginning of a fundamental change in the philosophy of American trade unionism. Its decline in membership and morale, its gradual abandonment of its claims to social legislation, its seeking of intellectual repose in the *laissez-faire* political creed of the late eighteenth century, were accompanied by the emergence of a new policy. This consisted of presenting trade unionism to anti-union and mass-production corporations as an asset in plant efficiency rather than to workmen as protective organization. These changes have their origin in the period of 1919-21, the years of defeat in the steel strike and withdrawal from the International. Whatever social ideal or change in the social order the Federation had favored was also abandoned and it turned to a systematic criticism of all within its own ranks and others outside who offered anything critical of the American social order.

The declaration adopted at the Portland (Oregon) convention in 1923 affirmed that "the threat of State invasion of industrial life is real. Powerful groups of earnest and sincere persons constantly seek the extension of State suzerainty over purely industrial fields," and resentment was expressed at the "continuing clamor for extension of regulatory powers under the guise of reform and deliverance from evil." Throughout this document these *laissez-faire*, anti-State, and anti-political declarations read like excerpts from the manifestos of Anarcho-Syndicalists. These affirmations, however, are followed by criticism of the policies

of large-scale industries. For example, it is declared that "the operation of industry for the dominant purpose of producing private profit has led to a multitude of abuses." It has produced "all the evils of autocracy because it is autocratic." A better future is said to be found in "cooperation and collaboration" because the "true rôle of industrial groups \* \* \* is to come together." The new philosophy was an olive branch offered to industrial corporations and it soon became known as "union-management cooperation." Defeated in the basic industries, the federation hoped that the new view would appeal to the industrial captains.

Even if this approach were to be accepted, the type of unionism that is offered, on its structural side, will not fit into the structure of mass-production industries. This unionism is based upon craft and trade lines and these lines are all but wiped out in the greater industries. It is significant that where company unions are formed they reveal no trace of the craft and trade basis of American trade unionism. Labor in the mass is organized as a mass, so that the trade unions offered to the great industries are not even an asset in plant efficiency.

Within a few years after formulating the new philosophy it emerged in the editorial service of the A. F. of L. as an individualist philosophy. "There is no greater illusion than that social reforms come through social legislation," declares one issue. "In America sovereignty remains with the individual," reads another. A third affirms that "self-help through collective action is the American Federation of Labor's philosophy." This emphasis on individualism and renunciation of the claims of labor to social legislation are repeated over and over again without asking whether a *laissez-faire* philosophy can solve the problems of the machine age and the technological revolution.

Curiously enough, the Federation leaders in their argumentative duel with the advocates of the "open shop" reject the individualist plea when it

is turned against trade unionism. The proponents of the "open shop" agree with the Federation that "sovereignty remains with the individual." They add that it is "tyranny" for the unions to entice workmen into organizations where their "individualism" is smothered and their "freedom" of action is restricted.

After the passing of Mr. Gompers Matthew Woll became the most influential spokesman of the new philosophy. His exposition correlates with the Federation's editorial service and with the *laissez-faire* of Adam Smith and the early mill owners of the late eighteenth century, as shown also by his address before the convention of the Railway Carmen last year. Mr. Woll does not appear to understand that the *laissez-faire* of Adam Smith was contemporary with a rapid extension of the slave trade, the martyrdom of men, women and children in mines and factories, the supremacy of the proprietors in legislation, and anti-combination laws prohibiting the organization of labor. In the same address, however, Mr. Woll identified the Smith school of political economy with the period "when labor was first being freed." He also supported this view in the January number of CURRENT HISTORY.

At the Toronto convention of the A. F. of L. last October, however, Mr. Woll's *laissez-faire* collapsed like a house of cards. The tendency of employers to discharge workers at the age of 45 and 50 brought the issue of old-age pensions to the fore. Mr. Woll himself made a forceful address in favor of this social legislation, and the convention also approved it with but one dissenting vote. Nevertheless, in the *American Photo-Engraver* for December, 1929, Mr. Woll reprints as an editorial the leading paragraphs of the Portland declaration of 1923 which repudiate all forms of social legislation! On the other hand, Federation chiefs vie with Senator Grundy in support of an exclusive tariff for powerful manufacturers, a legislative course that is in

painful conflict with the whole philosophy of Adam Smith.

While the Federation has stressed individualism and opposed social legislative measures, the industrial corporations have taken over these measures as part of a policy of binding the workmen to anti-union firms. What might have been social insurance against old age, accidents, sickness and unemployment through legislative action became "welfare" plans of anti-union and company union employers. Fearing State paternalism through social legislation, the inaction of the Federation has helped to bring about a dangerous corporation paternalism.

How this has injured the trade unions may be observed in the growth of company unions. During an eight-year period ended in 1926 company unionism gained at the average rate of 125,000 members per year, while in the same period the Federation lost at the rate of 123,000 members per year. Later estimates by some authorities place nearly as many members in the company unions as there are in the Federation unions. Although America is the most advanced industrial nation in the world, it has only 12 per cent of the salaried and wage workers organized into unions compared with 52 per cent in Austria. Of sixteen nations the United States is at the bottom of the list. It is even behind backward industrial nations like Estonia, Latvia, Poland and Spain.

The impact of mass production on the old type of unionism may also be observed in the inter-union wars over jurisdiction disputes which rage between the national organizations and which are also extended to the local, district and central bodies. The disputes grow out of conflicting claims of unions to jurisdiction over various types of work and workers. As trade and craft demarcations tend to disappear in mass production the effort to define these fading frontiers becomes ever more difficult.

Before the World War these disputes appeared, and a variety of arbitration committees handed down awards, but

in the past ten years these disputes have become more acute. They are naturally more numerous in the last decade, because mass production has made immense strides during this period. Moreover, awards are often violated by unions dissatisfied with a decision. "Jurisdiction strikes" are resorted to when there is no grievance against the employer, the strike being directed against other organizations of workers. For many years most of the national unions have been involved in jurisdiction controversies. Sometimes two or more unions will be parties to a struggle. Old American trade unionism is the only type in the world that has produced union strikes against unions.

Jurisdiction awards that are accepted by two or more unions are not always final. Application of an award may prove unsatisfactory to one union, whereupon the issue is again raised. Occasionally an award results in secession, or some new invention or technological change in industry renders an old award obsolete and another controversy arises. A rigid type of old unionism strives with ever more difficulty to adjust itself to a new form of industry to which it is not adapted and no agreement between unions will avert jurisdictional conflicts. Such quarrels are very rare in the unions abroad because they have changed or are changing from a craft-and-trade to a plant-and-industry basis.

These feuds are costly. In January, 1923, an old jurisdiction compromise between the bricklayers and plasterers was abandoned and the struggle was renewed with such intensity that by the Summer of 1925 work to the amount of \$200,000,000 was tied up. One union went on strike against the other. In St. Louis, in the Spring of 1929, two unions were unable to agree on a jurisdiction issue in the erection of a building the contract for which required the employment of none but union labor. The building itself was a union enterprise of 2,500 stockholders, nearly all union men of German descent. No issue of wages or hours was involved. Yet the union-against-union

fight held up the opening of the building from early in April to the latter part of July. The sole issue was whether the carpenters or lathers should do the metal trim and metal base work. The union workmen owning the enterprise suffered a total loss of \$20,000 because of the conflict.

In January, 1930, representatives of the employers and workers in the building trades conferred in Florida and appointed a subcommittee of six to work out a plan for more satisfactory adjustment of these disputes, but as the program suggested begins with recognition and acceptance of the contradiction between *trade* unions and *mass* production the new tribunals are not likely to remove the fundamental causes of jurisdictional disputes.

The effect of mass production upon the old trade unionism is evident in the fate of three national unions that were powerful twenty years ago. The National Window Glass Workers, organized in 1880 and adopting the slogan "Never Surrender," disbanded in 1928 after having enjoyed the highest wages and the best union conditions in this country. It opposed machinery, would not admit the unskilled to membership, and endeavored to fit its craft form of organization to changing industry. Having 60,000 members twenty years ago, it disbanded with less than 1,000 members two years ago. In Belgium the window glass workers changed their organization, adapted it to machine and large-scale production, and the union is as healthy as it ever was. There still remain five unions of the old type in the glass industry in this country, but their total membership is only a little over 15,000.

The cigarmakers, one of the most influential unions twenty years ago, and a pioneer in founding the Federation, also exhibits decay, and for the same reasons. It had its largest membership in 1909 with 51,500 members, but its membership today is less than 20,000. The Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, defeated some thirty years ago in the big corporation plants, have had a similar experience.



The pathetic efforts to "sell unionism" to the great industries as an aid to efficient production have brought another approach to business leaders in the past decade. For nearly thirty years executives of the unions have fraternized with financiers and corporation magnates in the National Civic Federation. In recent years this policy has been followed on a local scale. Local unions and city central bodies in some cities have affiliated with local chambers of commerce and disaster has followed. In one Middle West city, after the central body had paid dues for two years to the chamber, the latter body adopted an "open shop" resolution. Many of the local unions were destroyed or weakened, and labor morale has been seriously impaired.

While Federation chiefs joined with big corporations to raise high tariff walls, they discovered that American capital is being invested in plants abroad while factories at home are being closed. They have protested against this internationalism of American capital and then turned to "individualism" for union inspiration. Moreover, the protest against the export of capital avails nothing, for the whole trend of American foreign policy in this century has been encouragement of foreign investments and loans. The Federation has no fighting Labor party in Washington to formulate an international labor policy; it is opposed to organizing such a party, and it will

not join with European labor in the task of shaping such a policy.

Politically, the Federation has had little influence on legislation. The recent able study of the injunction in labor disputes by Felix Frankfurter of Harvard University and Nathan Green of the New York Bar shows that American trade unions, after thirty-six years of testing this form of political action, have a precarious status before the law. By way of contrast, one may recall that the British trade unions have enjoyed a clear legal status since 1906 as the result of following an independent political policy.

Yet at the Toronto convention last October the executive council of the Federation reported that a substantial majority of the members of both houses of Congress have either a "100 per cent record" on labor measures or were "exceedingly fair" toward such measures. If this were true it would have stirred not only the convention but the whole trade union movement of this country. But the report was received in silence; no comment on this claim was made in the convention, and no rejoicing has been expressed in trade union publications. The fact remains that after nearly forty years of earnest agitation the non-partisan political action of the Federation leaves the American trade unions in that perilous position before the law which the Debs injunction revealed in 1894. This political quietism is an interesting by-product of the new philosophy of the Federation.

## II—A Defense of the Federation's Methods

By MATTHEW WOLL

VICE PRESIDENT, AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

THE RECORD of the American Federation of Labor is an open book, as are its philosophy and its program. There are the brief annual reports of the executive council, the addresses of President Green and the late President Gompers, and of other officers of the A. F. of L. and of the Railroad Brotherhoods. Yet these

sources of accurate information all remain unread, and the astounding misstatements of our position and our policies persist.

It has become the fashion for critics to praise the late President Gompers, crediting the American labor movement with more or less progress in the past, and to claim that now it is going back-

ward and has abandoned its principles, surrendering to capitalism.

The truth of the situation is that American labor has never been so united as it is at the present moment. There was a period of considerable friction in the American labor movement, when a number of national and international unions experienced difficulties with dual or seceding factions. Yet today, with the exception of an internal situation in a single union, there is neither disharmony nor factionalism in any direction.

Notwithstanding vast fundamental changes in production processes and the present acute unemployment situation, labor organizations were never so prosperous nor their membership so large, except in the few abnormal years immediately following the war. Our fundamental principles have been completely justified by results and by public support in these post-war years. Our educational and publicity activities have kept us abreast of all the latest economic and political developments, enabling us to evolve new policies, where these were indicated. It has been a period not merely of consolidation, but of the most rapid improvement in quality and efficiency.

The American Federation of Labor has seen no need to alter its foundation principles, the principles of American democracy, both economic and political. One of these principles is that decentralization is absolutely indispensable if democracy is to be a living reality. The federation is one of more or less autonomous unions of many types. It favors the industrial principle of labor organization, either in the pure form—as in its largest union, the United Mine Workers—or in the form of craft federations, as in the building and printing trades.

With reference to modern mass production plants, new methods of coordination of collective effort and organization are being tried. The A. F. of L. stands for natural growth, encouraging the amalgamation or coordination of collective effort of unions

through agreement and voluntary acquiescence. Jurisdiction disputes between the unions have steadily diminished from year to year. Whereas previously the major time of annual meetings was taken up in discussions of bitter jurisdictional disputes, conventions in later years are almost free of all such discussions and the record of jurisdictional agreements reached has been correspondingly enlarged.

With the exception of a single abnormal period, after the war, the growth of the movement has been steady and rapid. Like all the labor union movements of the world, American labor's ranks were artificially inflated during the war and the deflation or liquidation that followed the war has only just completed itself.

The record of the growth and decline of trade unions corresponds with the growth and decline of the industries represented. Likewise, changes have taken and will take place within the unions to correspond with the change of processes used and the introduction of the machine. The fact that the glass industry has been almost completely mechanized and the organization of workers correspondingly lessened in numbers is no indictment of the trade union itself. It is also true that when a trade union has not altered its policies to conform to a fundamental change within that trade the particular union has suffered.

A somewhat smaller proportion of the wage earners is organized in this country than in some others because our great industrial corporations are far more powerful, far more aggressively anti-labor union and far more efficient in their methods of fighting organized labor than are the employers of any other country. In no other country has the injunction writ played such an oppressive part in circumscribing the effective organization and functioning of trade unions.

If company unions are having a certain momentary success in America, it is due simply to the fact that the employee is forced to accept them in order

to secure employment, and often has to sign a "yellow dog" contract not to join a real union.

If American labor often uses the word "cooperation" as expressing its desire to establish collective bargains with employers, it is cooperation upon the foundation of industrial democracy or economic democracy—phrases perhaps that sum up American labor's basic philosophy as well as any mere phrases could. And if our great corporations attempt at times to purloin these phrases and advocate "industrial republics" without liberty and "industrial democracies" without self-government, no such employer's plan or policy has ever had the slightest effect on the robust and uncompromising democracy of the movement.

American labor has at no time lacked a political program, though it has not thus far favored a separate and distinctive labor party. Its political program has always been based upon our economic needs and interests and has rested upon our economic as well as our political power. Our voice has counted politically. We have always realized fully as much because of the massed economic power of our unions as because of the massed influence of our vote.

We have rejected *laissez-faire* individualism absolutely, both in economics and in politics, the opinion of others notwithstanding. Our political program, in most respects, is very similar to the political programs of the labor unions of Great Britain and Germany. Necessarily, first place is given to the legal rights and status of labor organizations. In this field American labor secured a great victory in the Clayton act, since it was secured against the opposition of nearly all great employers and employer organizations.

Another victory was won a year ago when both the leading parties, against the same employers' opposition, pledged themselves to remedy the abuse of injunctions, and a Congress was elected a majority of which have indicated that they will carry out this pledge. We are not convinced that greater progress

would have been made in securing relief against the injunction through a distinctive labor party.

In order that labor's political power may be felt by both parties, or by one of them, it stands for direct primaries in the fullest and freest form.

A third type of legislation demanded protects the great body of consumers, the effective regulation of public utilities. This legislation is also being extended gradually to all corporations and associations that approach monopoly, and organized labor is vitally interested in securing a voice in control.

None of these types of legislation must be overshadowed by what is usually called social or labor legislation. Organized labor has led, for example, in fighting for child labor restriction and regulation and for certain types of social insurance, such as workmen's compensation. Contrary to general belief, it has for years favored old age pension legislation. With strong labor organizations and high wages, however, labor believes that savings, owned homes and cooperative insurance are likely to exceed any compensation. High wages, family and high expenditures for the public schools, labor believes, will do far more to keep children from premature labor than any amount of negative child labor legislation.

High wages, a shorter working day and a shorter working week, steady employment, fair conditions and treatment while at work—these economic objects of organized labor do not signify—as so many reformers contend—that the social program is sacrificed for individual welfare. On the contrary, they are the backbone of every social program.

Take the present great problem of unemployment. Suppose there are 3,000,000 unemployed above the normal. An average shortening of the working time in the day or week of 10 per cent (a half day in the week or one working hour in the day) would at once absorb all the unemployed. Or, again, a rise in real wages of 10 per cent would have a similar effect through the in-

creased expenditure of these wages in the home market.

Other remedies for unemployment are not only desirable but indispensable—better statistics, government employment agencies, regulated expenditure on public works. But the one lasting and scientific remedy is to make high wages an accepted fact instead of an accepted principle; to apply the principle throughout industry instead of a few exceptional employments; to keep applying it, so that mass consumption can keep up with mass production; and to see that wages are raised in proportion to the increased productivity of labor. The one immediate and infallible remedy, always applicable, is a shortening of the working day without any lowering of the wage.

A widely favored remedy for unemployment stressed in the last Presidential campaign is increased exports; this is stressed also by the reformer critics of labor who do not understand labor's belief in the home market and labor's insistence that employment can be fully maintained, industry fully occupied and national prosperity made certain by further development of the home market through constantly higher wages.

Exports, as they increase, mean an increased dependence on the world market and on the lower prices of the world market as against the higher prices of America. Owen D. Young, assuming as he does, that a constantly increasing proportion of our products will be exported, is perfectly consistent when he says: "Let no man think that the living standards of America can be permanently maintained at a measurably

higher level than those of other civilized countries. Either we shall lift theirs to ours or they will drag us down to theirs."

American labor knows that we cannot hope soon to raise other nations to our level, but it does not propose to be dragged down to theirs. Hence, its opposition to increasing exports and its insistence upon absorption of our rising surplus by the home market through increasing the incomes of wage earners.

American labor's social program is difficult of comprehension only for the non-labor, the "intellectual," reformer, he who has no economic experience, is attached to no movement of economic democracy and does not understand the economic basis of politics. Organized labor everywhere understands us even when affiliated with socialist political movements, as in Europe.

American labor is on the most cordial terms with European labor; the programs are extraordinarily similar—for example, see that of the International Federation of Trade Unions. And American labor is, as it always has been, pledged to international labor organizations. It is out of the International Federation of Trade Unions solely because—and only so long as—its national autonomy, nominally assured by the constitution of that organization, is not actually respected. The fault does not lie with American labor. It was the European labor movement that changed the relationship immediately after the war. It is in the hands of European labor to correct the present situation. Certainly American labor will not bargain away its national autonomy.



# Washington—City of Splendor

By CHARLES MOORE

CHAIRMAN, THE NATIONAL COMMISSION OF FINE ARTS

WASHINGTON was planned as a city of ideals. So it still is, and so it will be as long as the nation endures. If it should be so unfortunate as to become an ideal—a finished city—that would mean first stagnation and then decay. In early days Washington was derisively called the City of Magnificent Distances. That epithet in reality expressed President Washington's conception. When Jefferson drew a little plan for the location of the Capitol and the White House Washington deliberately rejected it and straightway approved L'Enfant's grand scheme. The President decreed that there should be distances, and that they should be magnificent. In his soul he felt that he had helped to found a mighty nation; and he was determined that the nation's capital city should be an expression of the nation's greatness—in power, in wealth, in taste. And so the city has been from 1792 to this day both an expression and a measure.

L'Enfant drew and Washington approved a plan "on such a scale as to leave room for that aggrandizement and embellishment which the increase of the wealth of the nation will permit it to pursue at any period however remote." This original conception should be understood in the consideration of the plans now being devised and carried out in accordance with a building program more extensive than has ever before been undertaken at one time either in Washington or in any other city. The builders of today are but realizing the visions of more than a century and a quarter ago. The planners are only one division of the endless procession which began to march at the nation's birth and will continue to move until the end.

Jefferson gave to Washington his ideas as to planning the town, but "hav-

ing more confidence in the unbiased state of mind of the President than in his own," he forebore to communicate them to L'Enfant. However, he did express plainly his views as to the architecture of the two chief buildings of the nation. "Whenever," he wrote, "it is proposed to prepare plans for the Capitol, I should prefer the adoption of some one of the models of antiquity which have had the approbation of thousands of years; and for the President's house I should prefer the celebrated fronts of modern buildings which have already received the approbation of all good judges." L'Enfant having separated himself from the work of carrying his city plan into execution, the design of the two buildings was thrown into competition; and in making the selection Jefferson's ideas prevailed. Thornton's classic design was accepted for the Capitol, while Hoban's plan of a gentleman's house of the period—a design then current in England and Ireland and even in Poland—was chosen for the President's house.

Thornton, as one of the commissioners of the District of Columbia, was in a position to protect his plan of the Capitol from attempted mutilation; and Latrobe and Bullfinch, who came later, were trained in the classical tradition. So also Walter, who built the Senate and House wings and designed the dome, which was completed during Lincoln's day and at his behest. With the Olmsted terrace of 1890 the Capitol was virtually completed. All that now remains to be done is to put the cast iron dome into stone, and to extend the east central front, as Walter planned to do.

Hoban lived to superintend the rebuilding of the President's house after the fire of 1814. His front and rear

porticos were added during the administration of John Quincy Adams, thus finishing the building in so fine a manner that when Charles McKim was called upon to restore it in 1903, he reverently brought it back to Hoban's original design.

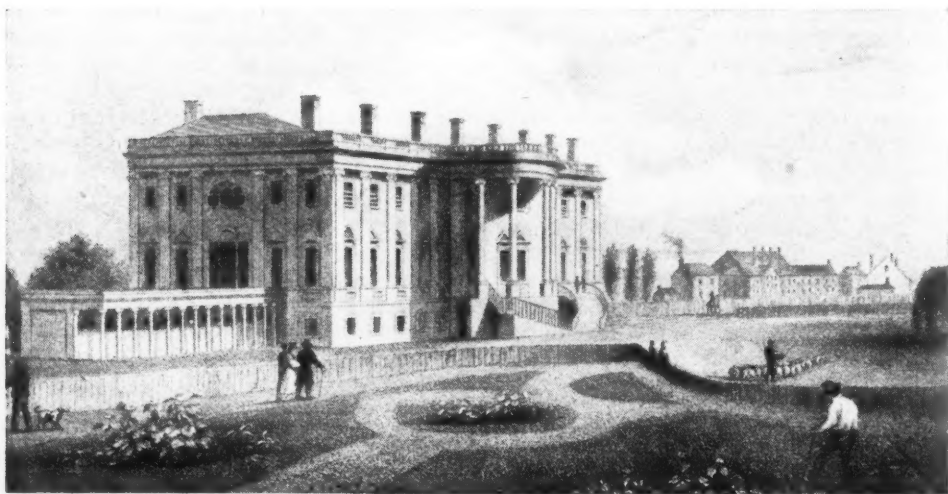
Thus from the beginning Washington was founded and has developed in an architectural fashion which belongs to the ages. Whatever have been the variations and departures elsewhere, in the main the national capital has been true to type, and the occasional yieldings to modernism in public buildings have served as warnings rather than as precedents. Today the aim is to rid the city of these excrescences.

Even in the semi-public buildings (like the Carnegie Institution, the Daughters of the American Revolution, the Red Cross, the National Academy of Sciences, the Pan-American, and the Corcoran Art Gallery) the classical precedents have been followed; schools, engine-houses and police stations have recently reverted to Colonial styles and to that of the early days of the Republic, generally called the Georgian, expressed in bricks and mortar; and banks and other important structures find individuality within the limits of Renaissance forms. Thus Washington attains dignity combined with unity;

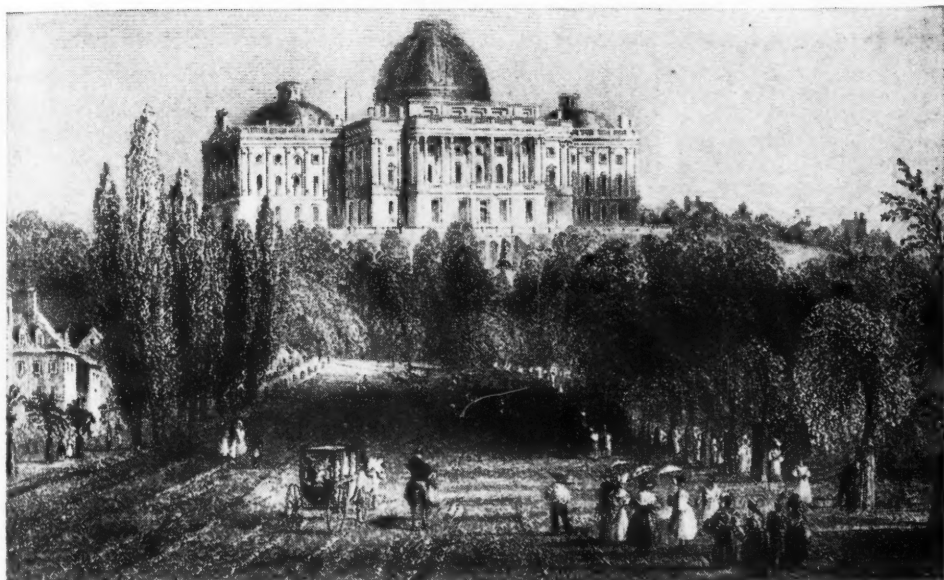
while variety is secured by the expression of the particular purpose to which the building is put, rather than by eccentricities of architecture.

After the Spanish-American War the activities of the government expanded rapidly. This caused overcrowding in the department buildings and led to the leasing of private structures. All efforts to relieve the situation proved abortive. Then came the Senate Park Commission (or McMillan) plan of 1901, which provided not only for the location of public monuments like the Lincoln Memorial, the Arlington Memorial Bridge and the Water-Gate, but also made an orderly arrangement of sites for departmental buildings and other government structures. The new plans caught public favor, but Congress held back. The plans seemed too large and too fine, although in reality they only brought the original L'Enfant plan down to date.

Then came the World War with its avalanche of temporary buildings, erected mainly in the parks. It was argued that with the end of the war these "temporary buildings" would disappear with the post-war deflation. Where such deflation occurred, new functions like the sudden expansion of the Department of Commerce took up the slack. The flimsy structures have been



THE WHITE HOUSE IN VAN BUREN'S TIME (1836-1840)



Courtesy N. Y. Public Library

THE CAPITOL, NORTHWEST VIEW, IN 1840

patched and repatched until today they resemble the Irishman's coat—a bundle of holes sewed together.

The breaking point was reached at the beginning of the Coolidge Administration. He took office on Aug. 3, 1923; on Sept. 30, at a little dinner at the White House, he asked abruptly of one of the party of four: "If you had the money, could you build the buildings necessary to house the government activities?" "Yes, if it came slowly enough," was the answer. "What do you mean?" asked the President, his attention caught by the words, "slowly enough." "Simply that if a big amount is appropriated at once, there will be pulling and hauling among the departments for money and sites. Moreover, there is no organization trained to handle any big amount of work; hence inevitable waste and graft, such as occurred in the Star Route and Rural Free Delivery scandals and the Spanish War and the World War expenditures. A million dollars a year is about all the government can spend on any one building. A continuing appropriation of five millions would enable five buildings to proceed at one time, and in this manner

orderly and economical progress could be made." The President listened but gave no sign. Ten days later he took up with his Cabinet the subject of a continuing appropriation for public buildings in Washington, and secured their approval.

In a message to Congress on Dec. 9, 1925, President Coolidge forcibly called attention to the need for public buildings to provide for the adequate and economical conduct of the nation's business. He asked for an annual appropriation of \$10,000,000. "No public buildings bill has been enacted," he said, "since before the war. I am not in favor of an act which would be characterized as a general parceling out of favors and that usually bears a name lacking in good repute. I am ready to approve an act similar in character to that already passed by the House, providing a lump sum appropriation to be expended under the direction of the Treasury or any other proper authority over a term of years, with such annual appropriation as the national finance could provide."

Congress needed no urging but did require that an equivalent expenditure

be made for public buildings throughout the country. This was eminently proper. It is a popular fallacy that public buildings come out of the "pork barrel." Such is rarely the case. The government building—post office, custom house or court house—is the outward and visible sign of the Federal Government, the one expression of national power, dignity and unity. It should be of a size and character suited to the service it performs. But architecturally it should be as fine as the best buildings in the city, and in style it should speak the language of the United States.

Congress, never averse to taking on executive functions, created a Public Buildings Commission, which in 1918 submitted without approval a report on the housing of government activities. The report followed substantially the McMillan plan of 1901. The National Commission of Fine Arts, as the especial guardian of the McMillan plan, had a guiding hand in the report. Fortunately the Public Buildings Commission had maintained its existence through its function of making allotments of offices, and in the recent legislation for new buildings it took the leadership, by reason of the well-

directed energy of Senator Reed Smoot, its chairman. The Senate and House committees on Public Buildings and Grounds and on the District of Columbia actively participated. Their efforts were supported with entire unanimity of Congress. In the resulting legislation Senator Bruce of Maryland secured the concentration of new sites in the area south of Pennsylvania Avenue between the Capitol and the Treasury. This he did with the avowed purpose of cleaning up disreputable conditions along the main thoroughfare of Washington, conditions that had aroused the reprobation of the whole country.

Congress had already in 1910 made a feeble start on such reclamation by the purchase of the squares near the Treasury, and had caused plans to be prepared for the Departments of Justice, Commerce and Labor (then united) and State; but there the Treasury officials halted, and conditions became worse instead of better.

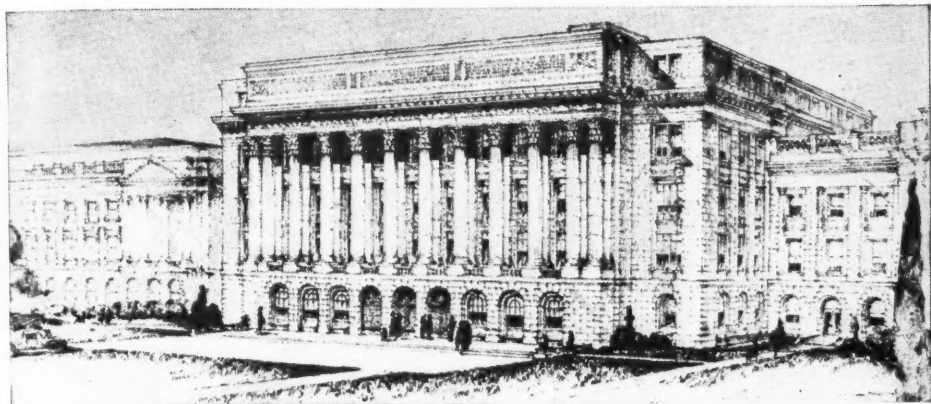
The new legislation placed in the hands of the Secretary of the Treasury the execution of the great building program. Secretary Mellon, who takes a keen personal interest in the matter, appointed a Board of Architectural Consultants to whom individually he



Courtesy N. Y. Public Library

NEWSPAPER ROW, WASHINGTON, 1862





Approved design of the new Department of Agriculture Building

entrusted the designing of the buildings authorized by Congress—the Commerce building to York and Sawyer; Justice to Zantzinger, Borie and Medary; Department of Labor and the buildings flanking the Great Plaza, including Interstate Commerce, to Arthur Brown; Independent Offices to Delano and Aldrich; Archives to John Russell Pope with Bennett, Parsons and Frost for the landscape work. Edward H. Bennett was made chairman of the board.

Then began the presentation of the plans for the Triangle, as the region south of Pennsylvania Avenue is popularly called. These plans are now being worked out in cooperation with and subject to the criticisms of the National Commission of Fine Arts in so far as designs are concerned, and the National Capital Park and Planning Commission as to streets.

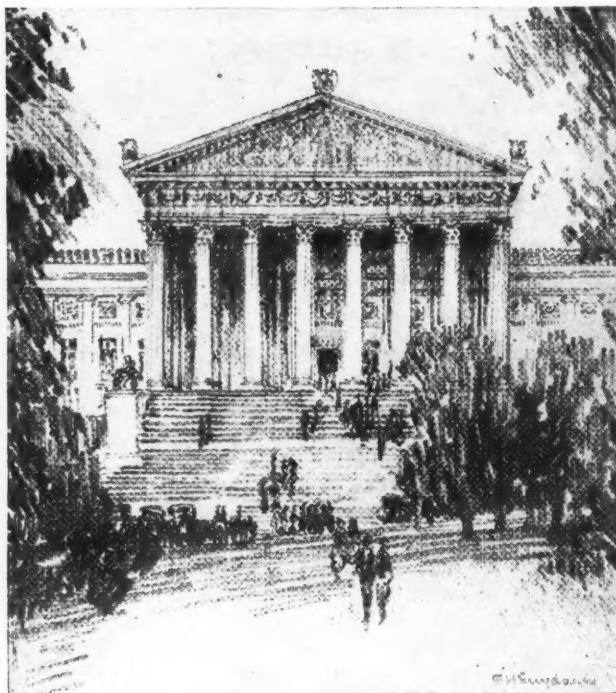
Meantime, Congress, at the instance of Chief Justice Taft, set up a commission for the erection of a new building for the United States Supreme Court, which had far outgrown its quarters in the Capitol. The site of the new building, directly opposite the Senate wing of the Capitol, is on a line with the Library of Congress. Thus the court will maintain its historic connection with the legislative branch of the government. Cass Gilbert was commissioned to design the new building, and his plans, having been approved by the National Commission of Fine Arts,

have thus gone to working drawings.

The House of Representatives, finding their office building too crowded, has decreed an additional structure, to be erected across the street from the present quarters, thus maintaining the principle laid down in the McMillan plan, that the Capitol should form the dominating feature of a group of buildings related to legislative work. This new office building has been designed by a group known as the Allied Architects of Washington.

When the monumental Union Station with its great plaza was built in 1908, in relation to the Capitol and yet distinctly subordinate thereto, Congress was impressed with the feeling that the area between station and Capitol was susceptible of artistic development. Under the leadership of the late Senator George Peabody Wetmore, a broad avenue leading from the plaza to Pennsylvania Avenue was planned, and a portion of the necessary land was purchased. Here again progress stopped for a decade, awaiting the new impulse. Congress has now approved plans whereby the entire area between the Capitol and the Union Station will be treated in garden fashion, with the new avenue centring on the General George Gordon Meade memorial, erected by the State of Pennsylvania in what is now the Botanic Garden.

The Botanic Garden was located many years ago in what was then an alder swamp. L'Enfant designed the



From *Washington, Past and Present*, Moore, Century Co.

#### THE NEW SUPREME COURT

An etching from the approved plan by E. H. Suydam

area as "a public walk, being a square of 1,200 feet, through which carriages may ascend to the upper square of the Federal House." The McMillan plan restores the square to its originally intended use; and makes it the head of the Mall leading to the Washington Monument. In furtherance of this plan, first, the Grant Memorial and, afterward, the Meade Monument were located in this renamed Union Square with the intention of forcing the obsolete Botanic Gardens to find new quarters. It had been comparatively short work to get the Pennsylvania Railroad Station out of the Mall; but Congress, tenacious of its floral privileges, was loath to disturb the glass houses.

Thanks to the quiet tenacity of Representative Robert Luce of Massachusetts, Congress has decreed that the tumbling conservatories shall be replaced by new structures outside of the embryo Union Square, thus not only

disengaging the sites of the two singularly beautiful Civil War monuments, but also completing one of the links in the chain that begins at the Capitol group and extends for two miles and a half to the Lincoln Memorial, with the Washington Monument as its central feature. In the District of Columbia one improvement necessitates so many others that, as L'Enfant foresaw, the end was projected into an indefinite future.

When President Roosevelt called Charles McKim to restore the White House, it was imperative first to get the President's office out of his house. So a simple little office building was constructed at the end of the west terrace to serve until Congress should provide adequate offices

for the Chief Executive. The new offices proved at once so convenient and so attractive that McKim himself was called upon to double the size of the building, expanding it quite to the limit of what the White House grounds permit without sacrificing the appearance of the main building. The recent fire has called public attention to the inadequacy of the "temporary" offices, and has forced renewed consideration of the needs not only of the President's office, but also of the State Department.

Years ago plans were worked out by the late Arnold Brunner (who won the competition) for a State Department building on the west side of Lafayette Square, diagonally across Pennsylvania Avenue from the White House. These plans comprised rooms for international conferences, now held in the hall of the Daughters of the American Revolution; for official entertaining of a

more formal character than the White House permits, and also suites of rooms for such foreign guests of the nation as are now cared for in a borrowed residence.

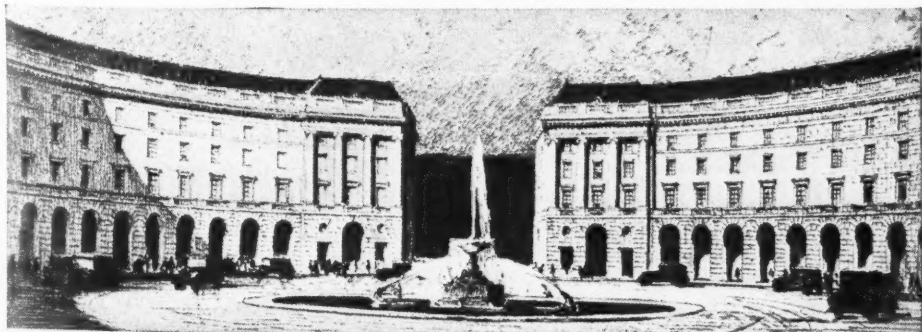
The location was in furtherance of the McMillan plan, which contemplates surrounding the White House with executive department buildings, a consideration of the first importance, because of the modest character of the President's house and the artistic necessity of making it the dominating feature of a carefully designed group. Such a group was begun with Cass Gilbert's Treasury Annex, designed as the southern third of a building to extend through the entire block on the east side of Lafayette Square, including the half-block occupied by the Cosmos Club. A bill for the purchase of this frontage has been favorably reported to Congress, and will be enacted. The northern frontage is occupied in part by a government building hurriedly erected for the War Risk Insurance by Secretary McAdoo before he became interested in planning for amenity; in part by Latrobe's St. John's Church (a landmark well worth preserving), and by the United States Chamber of Commerce, which Cass Gilbert persuaded the organization to construct with the same cornice line as that established for the eastern side of Lafayette Square.

These considerations, which in themselves seem details, are vital in the development of the national capital along

permanent, artistic lines. The neglect of them piles up expense in the future. For example, after the White House office fire President Hoover took refuge in the State, War and Navy building built, as Mr. Root is wont to say, "in the consulate of Mullet." To both President Hoover and Secretary Mellon the architecture of the building is anathema; and they are seriously considering revamping to make it correspond with the Treasury Department, at a cost of \$3,000,000.

Both John Russell Pope and Waddy Wood have taken a hand at the raking-down process, and their sketches are amusing if not convincing. They did not attempt to redesign the plumbing, which would have been a serious task! The building was constructed in President Grant's day for the purpose of anchoring the capital in Washington, thereby defeating efforts to remove it to St. Louis. Had the architect followed the satisfactory design of the Treasury Department, as Congress intended, no question of remodeling could arise. Probably the cheapest thing would be to allow the building to catch fire under the roof. Then it would be destroyed in ninety minutes.

There is a pleasing fiction current in the Washington press that there is an entity known as the District of Columbia government. This idea is encouraged by the appointment of two commissioners usually drawn from the Washington Board of Trade by the President, the majority member of the



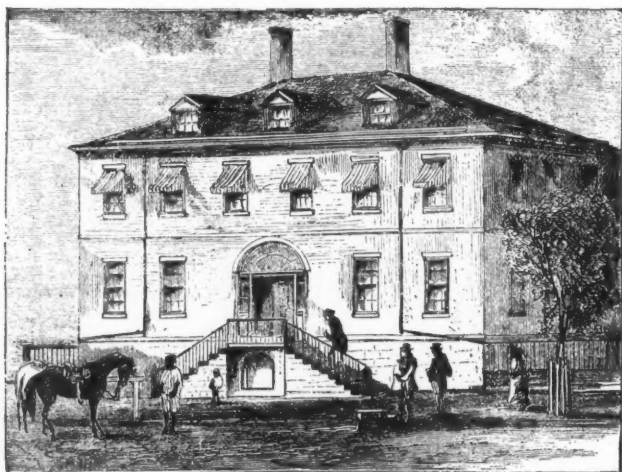
Approved design of the Triangle Group, Independent Offices Building

trio being taken from the Engineer Corps of the Army, as are also most of the executive officers of the District. The commission form of government has been a favorite refuge of Congress from the beginning of government. It does not work, and Washington has been no exception to the rule. That octogenarian "first citizen," John Joy Edson, is asked every three years to accept appointment as commissioner, and as often he replies to the President that he would be *the* commissioners, but he would not be *one-third* of a commissioner.

With the creation of a new civic centre as planned, to accommodate the inadequately housed and scattered functions of the District (which is a State, a county and a city all in one), the result probably will be a consolidation of authority in a single head of cabinet

size, appointed from the country at large. Then the national capital will be administered as a national capital. Here again the founders, in their prophetic wisdom, made provision in the Constitution that Congress should have exclusive legislation over the seat of government, thus insuring an indefinite future for the capital city of a growing, progressive nation.

[Since the above article was written, Sir Lionel Earle, First Commissioner of Works of Great Britain, arrived in Washington (April 7) to supervise the completion of the new British Embassy in Massachusetts Avenue, which he declared "will be the finest diplomatic establishment in the world \* \* \* outstanding in nobility, character, design and beauty." Washington, he added, would soon be the most beautiful capital in the world.]



Courtesy N. Y. Public Library

The United States Treasury Building in Washington, 1801



# *President Machado's Administration of Cuba*

The following articles on the administration of President Machado of Cuba are in striking contrast. Mr. Walling, a careful and competent student, arraigns the administration for acts which savor strongly of dictatorship, while his Excellency, the Cuban Ambassador to the United States, Dr. Orestes Ferrara, presents a totally different picture; he points with pride to the tactful manner in which Cuba's problems are being solved and summarizes the extraordinary economic growth of the republic as proof of the success of the Machado administration.

## I—Charges of Dictatorship

By WILLIAM ENGLISH WALLING

AUTHOR OF BOOKS ON THE LABOR MOVEMENT

THE USUAL American picture of Cuba is that drawn by President Coolidge when he was in Havana two years ago: "Today Cuba is her own sovereign. Her people are independent, free, prosperous, and enjoying all the advantages of self-government. \* \* \* They have reached a position of stability of their government in the genuine expression of their public opinion at the ballot box."

But there is another picture. At the very moment President Coolidge was speaking the present writer was talking in Havana with three distinguished Cubans, one a member of President Machado's Cabinet, another a very high official, and the third the editor of one of Havana's three leading newspapers. All agreed in deploring the non-existence of a genuine opposition party in Cuba, the three parties having consolidated for the purpose of calling the first Constitutional Assembly since the foundation of the republic, of re-electing the President, and of extending the terms of office of Senators and Representatives without re-election. At the constitutional elections a few months later, no opposition ticket was allowed, the same candidates appearing on all three ballots; nor were the opposition elements, though conservative and

moderate, permitted to hold public meetings or to organize. There had been no disorder or revolutionary movement of any kind.

Gradually the situation in Cuba is attracting attention in the United States. It was discussed at length in a special report issued last year by the Foreign Policy Association. It was touched upon in a resolution for investigation proposed to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee by Senator Shipstead in which the charge was made that not only "political opposition to the ruling group has been destroyed," but that there existed "a virtual dictatorship under which freedom of speech and assembly have been destroyed," and that "numerous assassinations, imprisonments, deportations and exiles have taken place."

A view of Cuban conditions, diametrically opposed to that expressed by President Coolidge, was voiced in January CURRENT HISTORY, by one of America's leading historians, Professor Albert Bushnell Hart, who declared that "the most striking instance of the indifference of the American people to the constitutional rights of neighbors outside our boundaries is the present status of Cuba." After referring to our pledge to preserve a republican form of

government in Cuba under the Platt Amendment, Professor Hart continued: "According to the accounts of people who have been on the ground, there is, in fact, no Republic of Cuba in operation. There, as in other Latin-American countries, decisions are made by a despot who drives those who contest his rule out of the country or elsewhere."

Now what are the facts?

General Gerardo Machado y Morales was first elected President of Cuba, with the support of his predecessor, ex-President Zayas, in 1924. The election was entirely one-sided, the real contest having occurred when Machado secured the Liberal party nomination from Carlos Mendieta, who continues to be his chief opponent. The struggle for the nomination was bitter, and extraordinary stories are told of the bargain made to secure the support of Zayas, which was decisive.

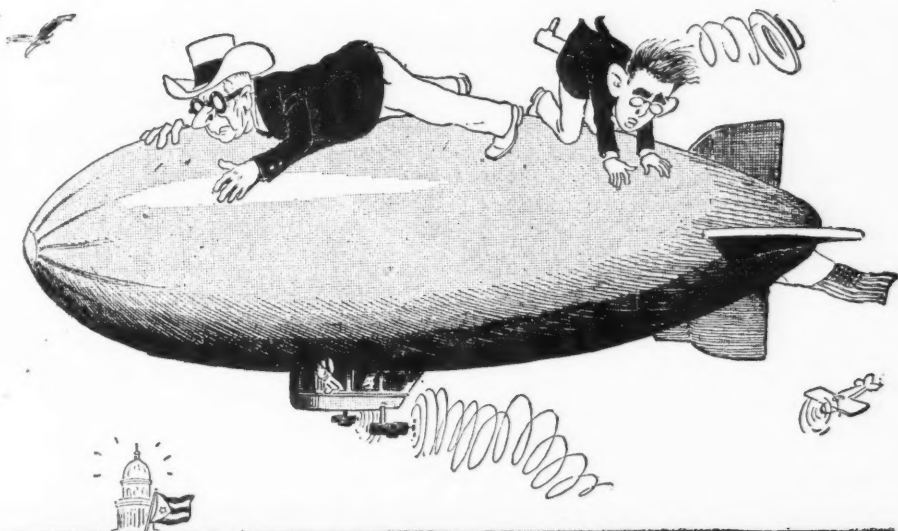
President Machado's first term of office was from 1925 to 1929. For two years he held to his election pledge that he would not seek a second term, but would retire in 1929, and that "no power on earth" would keep him in office "one single day longer." During this period his later policy was already foreshadowed. Rogelio Zayas Bazan, Minister of the Interior, who had to enforce President Machado's policies, and who resigned at the end of his first term, said in his letter of resignation to President Machado, according to a summary published by a leading pro-government paper, the *Heraldo de Cuba*: "Scarcely had General Machado taken the reins of power when his conduct suffered a radical change. Day by day his decisions became more and more arbitrary and his methods more severe until all liberties were completely eclipsed."

The President's first term was marked by the dissolution of a number of labor unions under the old Spanish penal laws (revived, as Zayas Bazan explained to me, for this purpose), by a number of unpunished political assassinations of labor leaders and editors opposed to the government, and

by numerous disappearances and imprisonments of labor leaders and journalists. Until President Machado decided to run for re-election, however, there were still three political parties, the Constitution was still intact, civil liberties were vigorously upheld by a number of judges, and the Crowder electoral code still provided for the popular control of the old parties and permitted the formation of new ones. The right of meeting still existed for the opposition, as guaranteed by the Constitution, and opposition newspapers could still be published, though—as I have said—under very formidable and rapidly increasing difficulties created by the government and its partisans.

No sooner had President Machado decided, in 1927, to secure an extension of his term of office (at first he proposed "prorogation," that is, extension without an election) than a new and more acute political phase developed. The three parties were practically amalgamated; the election law was nullified by a statute enacting that "the executive committee of each of the political parties shall assume all the functions of their respective conventions and shall name candidates for municipalities, provinces and national election districts"; and the law authorizing the establishment of new parties was repealed for the period of the elections for the Constitutional Assembly.

The three chief purposes of the Constitutional Assembly were to prolong the terms of office of certain classes of Senators and Representatives without an election, to extend the term of office of the President and members of Congress, and to abolish self-government for the city of Havana. The Constitutional Assembly, elected as described, carried out these changes in the Spring of 1928. There was and still is widespread and bitter opposition to all these measures, if for no other reason than that they tend to consolidate and perpetuate the control of the government and of the country by the tri-party group (the executives of the



—La Política Comica, March 2, 1930

#### THE ZEPPELIN IN HAVANA; THE GENERAL'S FLIGHT

The Mayor: "General, hold up tightly, 'cause you can fall down!"

Machado: "It is you that has to hold up, as nobody can pull me down"

(The Mayor has to resign because of a recent law, while Machado remains four years more)

three parties) now in power under President Machado's direction.

Instead of the first constitutional convention in the history of the republic being called under strictly legal conditions, with fair elections, freedom of the press and the right of the opposition to hold public meetings, all these rights, the opposition contends, were not only widely violated even before the constitutional elections, but their violation during the elections created an altogether new and far more serious situation. Under these conditions President Machado was elected for a second term in the Fall of 1928 and on these grounds, the opposition asserts, the whole structure of the present Cuban Government has been illegal since his second inauguration on May 20, 1929.

Among those who have publicly attacked the Machado régime on the ground of its illegality, or its illegal suppression of the opposition, are some of Cuba's most eminent citizens, including the president of Cuba's first constitutional assembly (Capote), two former Vice Presidents (Capote and

Varona), nine former Cabinet members (Torriente, Bru, Betancourt, Hevia, Marti, Capote, Cabarroca, Zayas Bazan, Iturralde), four former Governors (Penate, Betancourt, Iturralde, Zayas Bazan), a former Justice of the Supreme Court (Bru), a former president of the Senate (Alvarez), a former president of the House (Zaydin), a former president of the League of Nations (Torriente), the president of the Veterans of Cuba's War of Liberation (Betancourt), besides a number of Cuba's most distinguished constitutional fathers, jurists, scholars and editors. Every person mentioned is a moderate; not one advocates any form of disorder or violence. Among them are the past presidents of both the leading parties and heads of those parties in the Senate and House. They are not organized, or even united politically, except to denounce the alleged illegal practices of the Machado government. A part of them have attempted to organize an opposition party, but solely, they declare, for the purpose of restoring legal government.

A large majority of the distinguished

Cubans mentioned above, including Capote, Varona, Torriente, Marti, Bru, Betancourt, Hevia, Alvarez, Penate and many others no less eminent signed the solemn pronouncement declaring the present government illegal, null and void. They are supported by many others as influential, acting independently, such as Senator Ricardo Dolz, president of the Republican Conservative party and one of Cuba's leading scholars and jurists, who declared in the Senate that the prohibition of new political organizations was nothing more nor less than an illegal effort to prevent all opposition in the Constitutional Assembly. President Machado himself visited Senator Dolz in an effort to prevent him from making this important speech.

The most important popular organizations, the labor unions, take the same standpoint. While their leaders do not dare to speak openly, the present writer has interviewed a large number of them, and with the exception of a handful in intimate relations with the government, found no differences of opinion.

The only fair election of importance that has occurred during the Machado régime, according to these labor leaders and a number of the other distinguished persons named, was three years ago when Miguel Mariano Gomez, the son of a former President, became Mayor of Havana against the opposition of President Machado. It is said to be out of the fear that Gomez would be re-elected to this second highest office in the island by a still larger majority that the right of local self-government of Havana has been abolished by one of the new constitutional amendments—which means the abolition of self-government for two-thirds of the industrial population and even more of the educated middle class of the island.

The political opposition, however distinguished its leaders, has been forbidden to hold meetings, usually on the flimsiest of pretexts. Two of these pretexts, as defined in President Machado's decrees, were that those wishing to hold the meetings had not been or-

ganized as a "regular" political party, and again that none but the "regular" parties could hold meetings during the recent sugar harvest, lasting three or four months, for fear of disturbing it! This decree was later declared unconstitutional, but only after it had been effective for two-thirds of the harvest.

On another occasion the pretext was that the eminent conservatives and law-abiding jurists who wished to hold a meeting of the Nationalist party, and had secured a permit from the Mayor of Havana, might "disturb the peace." *The New York Times* has called attention to the force of the contention of the opposition that the suppression of all right of free speech and assembly has automatically created "conspiracies."

Not only have the students of the University of Havana been denied the right to hold meetings on public questions, but the university has been several times closed for this cause, until the total period of non-operation under the Machado régime now amounts to several months. As to labor, Senator Iglesias, secretary of the Pan-American Federation of Labor, after a thorough investigation made at the request of President Green (in which he was frequently accompanied by the present writer), complained that all meetings and conferences were systematically intimidated by the enforced presence of police. And this system remains in full force today.

Newspapers are seized and suppressed constantly. Several cases occurred each time the present writer has been in Havana. It is almost exclusively the opposition papers that have been suppressed, among them *El Nacional*, *Union Nacionalista*, *Cuba Libre*, *Hatuey* and *La Prensa*, one of the principal newspapers of Havana. Editors and reporters are frequently arrested, imprisoned, exiled or simply "invited to take a trip abroad." Printing establishments are closed or fined and editions confiscated.

One of the latest raids was against an opposition paper, *La Voz*, printed in the shop of an English daily,



*The Havana American*. Upon the latter's printed protest its edition (of March 7) was also confiscated! The decisions of the police and the lowest correctional courts may often be proved later to have been without legal ground, but only after the publication has been ruined. This is such a great scandal that even President Machado's own paper, *El Mundo*, admitted, when the writer was last in Havana, that it cried for correction.

More than a few of the active critics of the government, especially editors and labor leaders, have been assassinated and the assassin has in no case been discovered by the government. The editors were: Major Armando Andre of *El Dia*, Bartholme Sagaro of *El Voz del Maestro*, Julio Antonio Mella of *Cuba Libre*, and Captain Aguilar of *La Campana*. Enrique Varona, Alfredo Lopez, Robert Grant, Santiago Brooks and other labor leaders have been assassinated and a considerable number have disappeared. Such unpunished assassinations have, of course, greatly re-enforced the intimidation of opposition publications and organizations by police prosecution and Presidential decree.

In a time of the gravest economic depression, nation-wide suffering and financial stringency, the government has been spending sums, huge for a poor country, on its military budget and public improvements. It is difficult to see why an island country situated as Cuba is should devote nearly a fifth of its active budget, apart from interest on the public debt, to its army—unless an ultimate popular uprising is expected. It is hard to believe also, that this was the time for a little country to erect a National Capitol estimated to have cost \$20,000,000 and scarcely inferior to that of Washington, or to build a 700-mile national highway at an estimated cost of \$77,000,000 through a country thinly populated, practically without industry, and already provided with excellent railways serving the same territory.

There is no reason to doubt that elements directly or indirectly connected with the dominant political

groups are making money out of these enterprises and other government contracts. Nor is there any doubt in Cuba as to the millions made annually by the ruling political group out of the free distribution among them of hundreds of agencies of the national lottery, a distribution left by law in the hands of the President. Professor C. E. Chapman, the historian of Cuba, estimated that in 1925, the profits from these agencies amounted to \$3,000,000 annually.

These large expenditures are especially burdensome to the nation in view of the prolonged and extreme crisis in the sugar industry, which accounts for the larger part of the national income, as well as crises that are more recent but equally acute in the only other industries that are important sources of national income, the tobacco industry and the American tourist trade, now reduced to something like half of what it was a year ago. Moreover, the government itself has just reduced all but the lowest salaries of its employes by 10 and 15 per cent (excepting the army and police).

In a letter recently displayed on the first page of Havana's leading conservative newspaper from Cosme de la Torriente, who has been not only Cuban Secretary of State but also President of the League of Nations, he said that the people "can deal with public crimes and public criminals usually by legal means, but when these are made impossible, when force rules over law and justice, then they employ those other means which history teaches are used by all the peoples of all countries to free themselves from their oppressors."

A few weeks later (March 20), as if to re-enforce this conservative warning, came a political general strike, the most menacing mass movement in Machado's term of office, an orderly and imposing demonstration which included some 200,000 strikers, according to the estimate of *The Associated Press*. The strikers demanded "the right of the workers to organize and strike, an end of intervention by the police in the



—Karicato, April 3, 1930

#### THE PUBLIC EMPLOYEES ARE WELL

Ruiz Mesa (Secretary of Finance): "Look at them, General, they are still fat. We can reduce their salaries another ten per cent"

unions, liberty of speech and press" and the revocation of the governmental order dissolving a number of the leading unions of the island. The government dissolved these unions and threw their leaders into prison on the charge that they were "Communists." Cuban labor, on the contrary, alleges that the governmental persecution is due solely to the fact that these were the unions that initiated this formidable movement of protest.

The situation, eminent Cubans claim, is precisely that which Secretary of State Stimson, in his recent book on Nicaragua, has described as so often arising in Central American republics: "An able President in a Central American republic exercises an absolute power for which it would be difficult to find a parallel anywhere in the civilized world. \* \* \* He can often re-elect himself for term after term and he is responsible to no one for the exercise of his authority or for the management of the public revenues. \* \* \* It is in his power to exile, imprison or put to death his enemies, and to confiscate their property, while at the same time he can enrich and advance his friends.

Out of these conditions it was easy for the system of dictatorship to develop, and instead of the people choosing their ruler by a free election, it soon became the universal rule for the President and his associates to dictate the result of the national elections. In default of a violent revolt on the part of the people against their government, that government remains indefinitely in power."

The present Cuban Government and its supporters, by using such statements as that made by President Coolidge, have led the Cuban people to believe that it is substantially or at least morally backed by the American Government. Torriente, Mendieta, Gomez, Hevia, Alvarez, Penate and other opposition leaders declared in 1929, in a manifesto prepared while Mr. Coolidge was still President, that "the supporters of the present régime boast that what they have done has been done with the enthusiastic approval of the Government of the United States and the applause of its diplomatic representatives."

The opposition has made it clear that they will not take the responsibility of

inviting any form of American intervention or interposition whatever. But as long as the United States guarantees every Cuban Government against revolution, they feel that the least it can do is to show that it cannot acquiesce in "revolution by the government"—

that it does not approve the evisceration or non-enforcement of a Constitution to which it has solemnly given its approval, or the scrapping of an election law evolved after years of joint labor by ex-Ambassador Crowder and the Cuban Congress.

## II—A Vindication of the President

By ORESTES FERRARA

CUBAN AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED STATES

**D**IFFICULTIES in government appear only on the day when a country organizes its services and makes a more highly civilized life possible for its inhabitants. To rule by simple methods, more or less patriarchal; to collect indirect taxes through customs; to maintain an efficient police force and some equitable courts—all this is a relatively easy matter. The great difficulties in administration begin when new needs arise and demand attention, either because a higher degree of civilization has been reached or because the national organism, in contact with the rest of the world, finds itself facing unexpected complications and new and unavoidable obligations.

Cuba, a young and eminently progressive nation, lying next door to a country possessed of the civilizing energy of the United States, situated in the path of the great thoroughfares of the world, inhabited by a people imbued with the spirit of Europe because Cuba was the last of the Spanish colonies to raise itself to the rank of a nation—yet at the same time a people eminently American—has undergone the change from a simple and modest form of government to one that is complex, multifarious, active and intense, with a rapidity that suggests a bound. It was in recognition of this fact that Mr. Kellogg, when Secretary of State of the United States, observed, in a cable which he sent to the Cuban Gov-

ernment in 1928, that no other people had made such progress as the people of Cuba. This sentiment is echoed by hundreds of thousands of visitors from all nations who pass through Cuba every year.

It is the North American who is most enthusiastic in his commendation of Cuba, but the French, British, Italians and Spanish do not lag behind, as is evidenced by the books and periodicals which deal with Cuba in various languages. The Latin-Americans, by their generous cordiality and their repeated visits, have made Havana the Caribbean capital.

This progress, apparently so easy and spontaneous, is in reality the result of constant efforts, of a high degree of adaptability to progress, of a feeling of legitimate and continuous ambition on the part of the people of Cuba and also of the government which has understood the needs of its country. The efforts put forth by the administration in Cuba have indeed been very great.

We must not forget the fact that less than thirty years ago the Cuban had no knowledge of public life beyond his antagonism to the government maintained by the mother country. He could hold no position of importance, of executive capacity, and it must be added that the example set him by the rulers of those days was not edifying as regards either public morality or competence. All the offices of the colonial government were given as favors to the

politicians, and these were obtained on the other side of the ocean.

In thirty years Cuba has had to create everything from judges to teachers, from executives to diplomats, from bankers to merchants and manufacturers. The colony of thirty years ago, occupied with the cutting of sugar cane and the rolling of fine cigars, has had to transform itself into an active and productive laboratory for training men in all its services.

That this training has been neither faulty nor inadequate is demonstrated not only by the success at home but by many achievements abroad, in environments where the Cuban has been in competition with representatives of old civilizations well versed in affairs and in all fields of activity. The government of Cuba has, in fact, attained a high degree of success in its international relations, for Cuba holds places of honor in all the important collective movements and has an eminent part in all the great assemblies. In the International Court of Justice at The Hague, which consists of eleven members, Cuba is represented by one of her sons. Of the Council of the League of Nations, composed of fourteen delegates, one is a Cuban. The President of the last Pan-American Conference was a Cuban. At the Washington Conciliation and Arbitration Conference Cuba was represented on the two commissions which drew up the projects. Cuba had a representative on the Commission of Inquiry and Conciliation which mediated in the Chaco dispute. A Cuban is always chairman of the Commission of Proceedings of the League of Nations. A Cuban presided at the last Labor Conference at Geneva; another Cuban at the last International Conference on Emigration and Immigration. Still another Cuban was the chairman of the World Conference of Journalists. More international conferences have been held in Havana than in any other city of the world with the exception of Geneva, and Havana is to be the seat of the American Institute of International Law. The academies of jurisprudence,

of international law, of history, of arts and letters and of many great countries include in their regular and honorary membership so many Cubans that their number in proportion to the population as a whole is little less than astonishing.

This extreme activity is undoubtedly a reflection of internal vitality. Cuba has progressed in all directions. Let us cite a few examples. In 1898, the year of the withdrawal of the Spanish troops from Cuba, the death rate had reached a figure of 26 per 1,000; today it is 12 per 1,000. Havana is considered one of the cleanest cities in the world. As a consequence, the population of Cuba, with no great influx of immigration, has climbed from 1,500,000 to 3,700,000.

Cuba's exports, which amounted to \$64,000,000 in 1902, the year of the withdrawal of the United States troops, have reached an average of \$300,000,000, and in a very prosperous year have gone as high as \$800,000,000. Her imports, which at that period amounted to \$60,000,000, have arrived at an annual average of \$250,000,000. In some years they have exceeded this figure as much as \$600,000,000.

In 1902 there were only a few miles of railroad; today the public and private railroads cover more than 6,500 miles. In 1902 there were no more than 250 miles of roadway; today it is possible, thanks particularly to the present administration, to go from any one point on the island to any other.

Cuba has more teachers than soldiers. The struggle against illiteracy is so energetic that illiteracy is on the point of disappearance, whereas in 1898, except for a chosen few, it was almost universal.

In 1902 the postal receipts amounted to \$376,000; today, with a greatly reduced postal rate, they are more than \$3,000,000. In 1902 there were 2,000 telephones in the entire country; today there are more than 100,000, with a regulating law which has served as a model for nations of the Old World.

Still other figures showing the advance that has been made might well

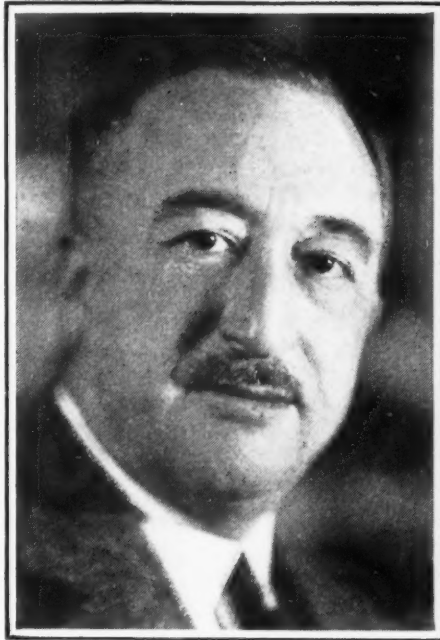


be taken from the benevolent and cultural institutions of Cuba, but enough have already been quoted.

In face of such facts as these all hostile criticisms fall to the ground, because while it is easy enough to lay down rules for government when one is writing newspaper articles or even histories, it is quite another matter to put these rules into practice. When the life of centuries is lived in thirty years mistakes are inevitable, for accelerated energy involves violence. Feverish activity brings with it considerable instability, and rapid growth leads to crises. A deed good in itself may be performed with such speed as to provoke protest. Such adverse criticisms as have been directed against Cuba, though they are sometimes just when taken singly, are entirely overwhelmed by the great quantity of her valuable achievements.

A few years ago a distinguished American writer produced a history of Cuba by taking isolated paragraphs from the press and speeches of the opposition. In that history some of the statements are true, but they are so presented as to give a false impression. The most perfect of countries might be shown at its worst by following such a method. One who overlooked the sterling worth of the people of the United States, their marvelous industry, their formidable moral force, and threw a high light on the hold-ups of New York, the alleged gangs of Chicago, the divorces of Reno and a few of the incidents of Hollywood mentioned in the newspapers, would give a sinister impression of a country which is a model of democracy and good administration. As with countries, so with individuals. The most perfect man can be caricatured by altering his salient features. In like manner any period of history can be presented in the worst light by simply giving prominence to certain facts and keeping silent as to others, or presenting them with their true proportions distorted.

The present government of Cuba, which is indisputably the most progressive, and which has found itself con-



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DR. ORESTES FERRARA

fronted with the greatest difficulties, has been the object of frequent attacks on the part of a few writers and especially from those of the radical element. President Machado has been made a scapegoat for the reaction against communism which has taken place throughout the Caribbean region. But if he has been the first to act with energy in defending his country against a propaganda which threatened to disturb its internal tranquillity, other governments have not been able to avoid following his example. Communism does not compromise, as is well known; and those who compromise with it very soon observe that their compromise turns out to be a one-sided affair.

It is my personal belief that the ideas of extremists should be combated in free discussion and by means of the good sense of the people, but it is well to recognize that this is not the opinion that prevails among governments. The great French statesman, Aristide Briand, who was once in the ranks of the extreme revolutionaries, said one

day while he was Premier that against violence which endangered the state he would not hesitate to employ whatever forces were needed. The British Labor Government or the men of the American Federation of Labor in similar cases would not act otherwise.

Cuba opens her doors to all, but there have been times when her government, much to its regret, has found itself obliged to expel elements desirous of imposing upon the masses opinions which they do not hold. Before the Cuban Government's reaction against the Communists, the latter perpetrated acts of terrorism which the most violent of old nihilists would surely have repudiated. For example, they poisoned bottles of beer which were put on public sale, and several laborers fell innocent victims to this outrage.

Side by side with the accusations which have been directed at President Machado in connection with his handling of Communist propaganda there are others of a more specific character dealing with internal politics. We do not understand how some of these can interest serious students of international politics. For instance, it is said that President Machado promised not to accept re-election and then did so. This is quite true, but it should be added that the re-election was legal and that it was offered to the President of Cuba by all parties. Machado had the same experience as Monroe in his second election a century earlier. The two regularly constituted parties nominated him by a vote which lacked but one vote from being unanimous.

One of the glories of the present Cuban administration is the construction of 700 miles of highway, binding the island from east to west. The economic value of this central artery is in-

calculable, for it unites all parts of the country and makes possible the exploitation of new products, especially in the field of agriculture. Moreover, this construction is in accordance with resolutions passed by Pan-American conferences and congresses in the United States and Cuba. For many years the people of Cuba have clamored for such a highway.

It is folly, some say, to spend money on public works at a time of economic crisis. But it must be admitted that the opinion of all who are in power is quite the contrary. The most recent example of this is furnished by President Hoover when he urged a general program of public works in view of the crisis which might present itself in the United States as a result of the financial crash.

Any criticism by foreigners which takes up in detail the political life of a country is bound to lead to false conclusions, even though it be made in the best of faith. A writer on public affairs from any part of the world is privileged to study all problems; but when he is ignorant of the psychological environment, he should confine himself to an examination of the main features, the predominating causes of a country's politics and their good and bad effects. If he enter upon the details and minutiae of local criticisms he becomes simply an echo of factions and a mouth-piece for the ideas or passions of others.

A presentation of the main features of the activities of the government of Cuba must necessarily take the form of an encomium, inasmuch as they have contributed to the formation of an entity which, to be sure, is not perfect, but which fulfills its aims at home and abroad, competently and with a high sense of duty.

# *The Story of the Star-Spangled Banner*

By FRANCIS SCOTT KEY-SMITH

The Judiciary Committee of the House of Representatives has reported favorably for passage a bill providing that the words and music of *The Star-Spangled Banner* be recognized as the national anthem of America and as such have the protection of the United States. A petition urging the passage was presented, signed by the Governors of twenty-five States and 6,200,000 other citizens. It is proposed to write the anthem in a lower key and to reduce the two highest notes an eighth, so that any one can sing the song. A resolution opposing *The Star-Spangled Banner* as a national anthem because it is "not representative of a peace-loving nation" and is too difficult for community singing, was drawn up for submission to Congress by the Music Supervisors' National Conference, meeting in Chicago.

THE POEM *The Star-Spangled Banner* was written by my great-grandfather, Francis Scott Key, on the early morning of Sept. 14, 1814. Francis Scott Key was the only son of John Ross and Ann Phoebe Charlton Key; he was born on his father's estate, Terra Rubra, then in Frederick, now Carroll County, Md., on Aug. 9, 1780. After graduating from St. John's College, Annapolis, he read law along with Roger Brooke Taney in the office of Judge Jeremiah T. Chase, and upon being admitted to the bar practiced before the courts of both the District of Columbia and Maryland. He was three times appointed United States District Attorney for the District of Columbia by Presidents Jackson and Van Buren, and occupied a very prominent position at the bar. He was a very religious man, and became a lay reader in his church. He was the author of two hymns, *Before the Lord We Bow* and *Lord With Glowing Heart I'd Praise Thee*. He married Mary Taloe Lloyd, the granddaughter of Edward Lloyd, Royal Governor of the Colony of Maryland, and had eleven children. His only sister, Ann Arnold Key, married Roger Brooke Taney, his colleague in the study of law under Judge Chase, and who afterward became Secretary of the Treasury under President Jackson and subse-

quently Chief Justice of the United States.

Francis Scott Key died in Baltimore, after a brief illness of pneumonia, on Jan. 11, 1843.

At the time he wrote the national anthem he was a practicing attorney in the city of Washington and also held a commission as Lieutenant in the militia. The circumstances responsible for his writing the song follow:

The latter part of August, 1814, the British, landing from their vessels in the Upper Patuxent River, near Benedict, marched upon the national capital, passing through Upper Marlborough, Md., both in their march upon the city and in their retreat to their vessels. Before the march of their well-trained regular troops the militia guarding the national capital fled, and its resistance was so poor that the city soon fell to the enemy and many of the public buildings, including the Capitol, were burned.

As the British retreated from Washington to their ships, some of their straggling and disorderly soldiers appeared at the home of Dr. William Beanes, in Upper Marlborough, and, making themselves obnoxious by their boisterous conduct and disorderly behavior, Dr. Beanes caused their arrest and several were lodged in jail. Shortly after the retreat of the British from Wash-



FRANCIS SCOTT KEY

ington, Richard West of Woodyard arrived at the home of Francis Scott Key in Georgetown with the news of Dr. Beanes's arrest. He explained that it was sought by the friends of the doctor to secure Mr. Key's good offices in having the government intercede for his release, as, in their opinion, he had been unjustly arrested for causing the arrest of some disorderly stragglers from the British Army.

The British fleet had sailed from the Patuxent and its destination was unknown. Upon Mr. Key's applying for letters of marque to intercede for the release of Dr. Beanes, the government thought it advisable that he should be accompanied by Colonel John S. Skinner, the government agent for the exchange of prisoners at Baltimore. He accordingly was instructed to proceed to Baltimore, and in company with Colonel Skinner seek out Major Gen. Ross, commanding the British Army, and Admiral Cochrane, commanding the British fleet, and deliver a letter from General John Mason, Provost Marshal of the District of Columbia, to General Ross requesting the release of Dr. Beanes. These letters are on file in the library of the Navy

Department, Washington, D. C., including the reply of General Ross agreeing to release Dr. Beanes. General Mason's request of General Ross was based upon the age of Dr. Beanes, his prominence and his kindness to wounded British officers. General Ross was advised that "Colonel John S. Skinner, the agent and flag officer of the government, accompanied by Francis Scott Key, Esq., would visit him for the purpose of securing the release of Dr. Beanes."

Upon arriving at Baltimore, Mr. Key sought out Colonel Skinner and delivered his letters. Necessary arrangements having been made, Key and Skinner sailed from Baltimore on the morning of Sept. 5, as a letter from Colonel Skinner to General Mason discloses. They sailed back in an American vessel. Entries in the logs and muster books of the British fleet show that they reached the British fleet at the mouth of the Patuxent River on the afternoon of Sept. 7, or two days after their departure from Baltimore, and that they were taken aboard the frigate *Surprise* and carried as supernumeraries and discharged to their own vessel on the morning of Sept. 11, 1814, which vessel had been taken in tow by the British frigate *Surprise*.

Upon reaching the British fleet they were courteously received, but, making known the object of their mission, they were at first frankly informed that the release of Dr. Beanes could not be considered, as the British regarded him as a man who had broken faith with them.

It would seem, by reason of some act or word of Dr. Beanes to the British, while they were quartered in his house at Marlborough en route to Washington, the British had gained the impression that he was a friend of the Crown, and hence they regarded his action in arresting their soldiers as being that of a traitor to their cause.

Producing letters from wounded British officers and soldiers expressing their appreciation for care and medical services rendered them, Key at last prevailed upon General Ross to release Dr. Beanes. Having secured the release



of Dr. Beanes, Key and his companions would have departed, but they were informed by both Admiral Cochrane and General Ross that the whole American party would be detained until after an attack which the British contemplated making upon Baltimore. This was the first intimation they had that Baltimore was to be the next offensive, and we can imagine their surprise, disappointment and anxiety.

Chief Justice Taney, in a letter, states that after the release of Dr. Beanes was agreed upon, General Ross, nevertheless, advised Mr. Key:

That neither he nor any one else would be permitted to leave the fleet for some days and must be detained until the attack on Baltimore.

Continuing, Judge Taney, says:

Mr. Key and Mr. Skinner continued on board of the *Surprise* \* \* \* until preparations were made for landing the troops. \* \* \* Mr. Key and Mr. Skinner were then sent on board their own vessel, with a guard of sailors or marines, to prevent them from landing. They were permitted to take Dr. Beanes with them and they thought themselves fortunate in being anchored in a position which enabled them to see distinctly the flag of Fort McHenry from the deck of the vessel.

When all the evidence is considered, it can be stated as a fact that Key and his party were aboard the little American vessel upon which they had made the trip down the bay from Baltimore to visit the British Fleet at the time of composing the song.

Under protection of the guns of their fleet, the British landed at North Point, from Sept. 10 to 13, approximately 7,000 hardened troops, many of whom were veterans of the Napoleonic wars. They were commanded by Major Gen. Ross. Marching upon Baltimore, they were met by about half their number of raw American militia. Less than half way to Baltimore, General Ross was shot and killed by two young Maryland sharpshooters, Wills and McComas, who, climbing a tree, picked off the General from his horse.

Shifting his flag from his flagship *Tonnant* to the British frigate *Surprise*, Admiral Cochrane moved his fleet up the Patapsco preparatory to a naval attack upon the city, which was to have

been simultaneous with that of the army under General Ross. Upon sighting Fort McHenry, the British fleet formed in a semi-circle about two and a half miles off its breast works. The fort was garrisoned by a battery of United States artillery under the command of Major George Armistead. Judge Joseph Hopper Nicholson, a brother-in-law of Mr. Key, commanding a voluntary battery of artillery, ranked second in command.

Early on the morning of Sept. 13, keeping well out of range of the guns of the fort, the British began their attack with six bomb and a few rocket vessels. Major Armistead, fully cognizant that his 42-pounders would not carry as far as the enemy's guns, patiently waited for an opportunity to fire when the British might come within range; while they, from their vantage point of safety, pumped their heavy bombs upon the little fortress.

At about 3 o'clock in the afternoon of the 13th, tiring of their one-sided game, and becoming a little bolder, the British brought some few of their vessels nearer to the fortifications and within range of its guns. Between 2 and 3 o'clock of the morning of Sept. 14, with one or two rocket and several bomb vessels manned by 1,200 picked men, they attempted, under cover of darkness, to slip past the fort and up the Patapsco in an effort to effect a landing and attack the garrison in its rear.

Succeeding in evading the guns of Fort McHenry, but unmindful of Fort Covington, under whose batteries they next came, their enthusiasm gave vent in a derisive cheer. Fort Covington, and the American barges in the river, now simultaneously poured a galling fire upon them, raking them fore and aft in horrible slaughter. Disappointed and disheartened, they endeavored to regain their ships which came closer to the fortifications in an endeavor to protect their retreat; but as they repassed, Fort McHenry opened with full force all her batteries upon them, thus ending the attack.

Reflecting upon the state of anxiety

of Key and his compatriots, practically prisoners within the British lines during the entire time, perhaps we can conceive, at this day, what the attack meant to each member of that little party of Americans.

From the time darkness of night closed in upon them, much of the battle, as likewise the flag of Fort McHenry, was hidden from view, but during the night they knew from

The rockets' red glare, the bombs bursting in air,

\* \* \* our flag was still there.

But when the bombardment ceased, shortly before the break of day, even this evidence that the flag was still flying was denied them. Remembering the events of only a week or two previous when the city of Washington fell so easily to the British attack, it was but natural they should have supposed that Baltimore had suffered a like fate. Imagine, therefore, the intense anxiety which they must have experienced before daylight broke, and an opportunity was again presented to see the fort and its flag.

Anxiously they awaited the break of day, but even when it came, the smoke of the battle and the "mists of the deep" still precluded their seeing distinctly the ramparts of the city's fortification. At length with the break of day, as Key turned his anxious eyes toward the fort, where in the sunset's glow of the evening before the flag of his country had so proudly waved, he asks in the first stanza of the song a most natural question, the one uppermost in his mind:

O! say, can you see, by the dawn's early light.

What so proudly we hail'd, at the twilight's last gleaming?

Whose broad stripes and bright stars through the perilous fight

O'er the ramparts we watch'd, were so gallantly streaming?

And the rockets' red glare, the bombs bursting in air,

Gave proof through the night that our flag was still there—

O! say, does the Star-Spangled Banner yet wave

O'er the land of the free and the home of the brave?

Continuing, he describes his feelings

and the inspiring scene that greeted his eyes as the morning sun arose, lifting "the mists of the deep," disclosing his country's flag still flying victoriously:

On the shore, dimly seen through the mists of the deep,

Where the foe's haughty host in dread silence reposes,

What is that which the breeze, o'er the towering steep,

As it fitfully blows, half conceals, half discloses?

Now it catches the gleam of the morning's first beam,

In full glory reflected now shines in the stream:

'Tis the Star-Spangled Banner; O! long may it wave

O'er the land of the free, and the home of the brave.

Recalling that General Ross had boasted he would take Baltimore and make it his Winter headquarters if it rained militia, in the third stanza of the song, Key gives vent to a slight vaunting exaltation felt himself. With the flag still flying and the enemy's ships reposing "in dread silence" about him he asks:

And where is that band who so vauntingly swore

That the havoc of war, and the battle's confusion,

A home and a country should leave us no more;

Their blood has wash'd out their foul footsteps' pollution;

No refuge could save the hireling and slave,

From the terror of flight, or the gloom of the grave;

And the Star-Spangled Banner in triumph doth wave

O'er the land of the free, and the home of the brave!

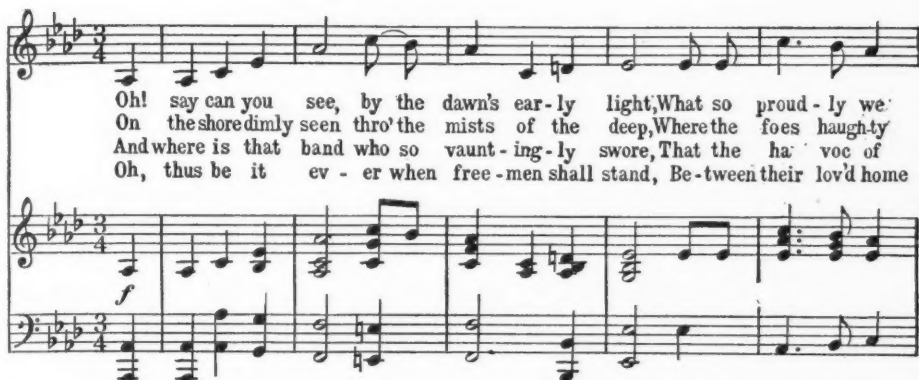
The reference to "hireling" and "slave" in this stanza refers to the large number of British troops engaged in the attack who were hired soldiers and not British subjects fighting for patriotic reasons.

In the concluding stanza of the anthem, the Christian spirit and fortitude of the author manifests itself. The words are:

O! thus be it ever, when freemen shall stand

Between their loved home and the war's desolation;

Blest with vict'ry and peace, may the heav'n rescued land



The opening bars of the newly transposed version of *The Star-Spangled Banner*, showing the low A to be sung

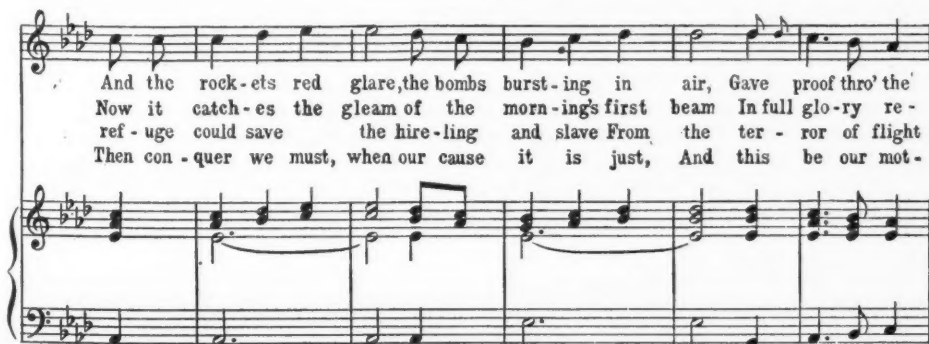
Praise the Power that hath made and  
preserved us a nation!  
Then conquer we must, when our cause  
it is just,  
And this be our motto, "In God is our  
trust!"  
And the Star-Spangled Banner in triumph  
shall wave  
O'er the land of the free and the home of  
the brave!

In composing the beautiful lines of the national anthem, Key not only christened the flag "The Star-Spangled Banner" but immortalized America as the "Land of the free and the home of the brave." Some time, perhaps, Congress will throw about these immortal words and the music they have sanctified a protecting cloak in appropriate legislation, that all persons and every people shall know the nation, as well as its people, cherish and respect the national anthem.

It is sublime to have so lived that when one's mortal remains have re-

turned to dust that dust consecrates and hallows the dust to which it has returned and the life leaves an imprint which the ravages of time cannot dull but brighten. Silent though be the tomb, the life still speaketh and Key's memory dwelleth forever, engraven upon that endeared emblem, the flag of our country.

The words of the anthem were first set in type by a young boy named Samuel Sands, at the time an apprentice in the office of the *Baltimore American*, where the manuscript was taken, shortly after the song was written, by Judge Nicholson, second in command of the fort. Young Sands, because of his age, was the only one found in the office of the *Baltimore American*, all the others being absent in the defense of the city. He gives his own version of having set the words in type in a letter in part as follows:



A line of the revised version of *The Star-Spangled Banner* showing E flat the highest note

It was first put in type and what the printers call "galley proof" was struck off previous to the renewal of the publication of the paper and it may be, and probably was, the case that from one of these proof slips, hand bills were printed and circulated throughout the city. \* \* \* At the time I put the song in type I was an apprentice in the office of the *Baltimore American*.

The music adapted to the words was the tune of an old American song of the Revolution entitled "Adams and Liberty," which had been set to the music of an early English song, *Anacreon in Heaven*. There has been some objection to the music on account of its origin, but when it is remembered that this piece of music would have long since been lost in oblivion but for

becoming the air of our national anthem, the objection is inconsequential. The music, a classical piece in itself and excellently adapted to the words, was reincarnated and Americanized when it became the music of "The Star-Spangled Banner."

How it came to be selected as the air of the words is not quite clear, but family tradition has it that Ferdinand Durand and his brother, musicians, playing at the Holiday Street Theatre in Baltimore, upon seeing the words in print, tried them to first one piece of music and another until it was found they best fitted the air of "Adams and Liberty," and to this it was sung the same evening upon the stage of the Holiday Street Theatre.



The Home of Francis Scott Key



# *The Disarmament Pact Between the United States and Canada*

By MABEL POWERS

AUTHOR AND LECTURER; ADOPTED BY THE SENECA INDIANS AS "YEHSENNOHWEHS"  
(THE STORYTELLER)

THE CANADIAN HOUSE in March passed by a practically unanimous vote the measure to forbid clearances of prohibited beverages to the United States, and the measure will become law before many weeks. This enactment is tantamount to a treaty between the two countries, being the second momentous act of friendship between our country and our neighbor to the north. The first historic act of amity between the two nations dates back to 1817 when the naval agreement between Canada and the United States was consummated.

For many years before 1817 the frontier of the Great Lakes, including the Niagara and St. Lawrence Rivers, had been guarded by a chain of forts, and warships of both nations sailed these waters. More than one historic conflict between rival nations struggling for supremacy had taken place there. After the War of 1812 as a precaution against further hostilities, many thought that a more adequate naval defense was required. Naval officers of the United States, then as now, were urging the government at Washington to build more forts and more powerful ships. On the other hand, then as now, there were those who considered mutual disarmament a better guarantee for peace than preparedness for war, for during the latter part of the War of 1812 there had been a large increase in ship-building on both sides that threatened to develop into a race in armaments.

The boundary line between Canada and the United States was also a troublesome question at this time. There was much discussion concerning the control of the boundary lakes and

their islands in the negotiations that led to the Treaty of Ghent; each side claimed absolute control as essential to peace. The British held that "water communications do not offer either a secure or natural boundary. Mountains separate, but rivers approximate, mankind." They therefore proposed that the line of separation should be heights of land farther south than the lakes, and that Americans should not be permitted to navigate the St. Lawrence or any of the contributory waters. The Americans made demands that were equally uncompromising. They asked for a boundary line southwesterly, west and northwesterly from Nova Scotia to Lake Nipissing and from there west to the Mississippi, the source of which was then supposed to be the Lake of the Woods. This would have closed all the lakes to Great Britain except Lake Superior.

In the midst of these discussions based on suspicion and land hunger, a new note was struck by Lord Castle-reagh, British Foreign Secretary, who evidently wished to prevent a race in armaments. In a draft of "instructions relative to the boundaries of Canada" this addendum is attached, but marked "not used": "N. B.—In order to put an end to the jealousies which may arise by the construction of ships of war on the Lakes, it should be proposed that the two contracting parties should reciprocally bind themselves not to construct any ships of war on any of the Lakes; and should entirely dismantle those which are now in commission, or preparing for service."

According to papers of the Ontario Historical Society, the first definite idea of disarmament was made in Sep-



Map showing the boundary fixed by the Rush-Bagot Treaty

tember, 1814, by Gallatin, an American representative on the Peace Commission at Ghent, when that conference seemed to have reached a deadlock. In a letter to James Monroe, then Secretary of State, Gallatin said: "The right of preserving our naval forces on the Lakes to any extent we please is a *sine qua non* by our instructions. Suppose the British proposed mutual restriction in that respect, either partial or total, should we still adhere to the *sine qua non*?" No reply from Secretary Monroe is recorded. Disarmament from the standpoint of economy was also suggested at this time by Gouverneur Morris.

The Treaty of Ghent was ratified in 1815 and ten days later the President was authorized "to cause all armed vessels of the United States on the Lakes to be sold or laid up, except such as he may deem necessary to enforce proper execution of revenue laws, such vessels to be first divested of their armament." This act was not put into operation.

In the meantime feeling ran high on both sides of the Lakes. Canadians and Americans were in equally bad humor

and had no desire to be neighborly. Each had a considerable naval force on the Lakes—of about equal tonnage—and the menacing presence of these armed fleets became a great handicap to friendly intercourse. At this critical moment John Quincy Adams, who was Minister to Great Britain, forwarded to Washington evidence that Great Britain was making plans to increase the size and efficiency of her Lake fleets. Secretary Monroe, whose greatest characteristic was conciliation, saw that some step must be taken either to increase naval armament or to agree to mutual disarmament. He therefore wrote John Quincy Adams: "It is evident, if each party augments its force, with view to obtain ascendancy over the other, that vast expense will be incurred and the danger of collision augmented in like degree. The President [Madison] is sincerely desirous of preventing an evil which, it is presumed, is equally to be deprecated by both governments. He therefore authorizes you to propose to the British Government such an arrangement respecting the naval forces to be kept

on the Lakes by both governments as will demonstrate their pacific policy and secure their peace. He is willing to confine it on each side to a certain moderate number of armed vessels, and the smaller the number the more agreeable to him; or to abstain altogether from an armed force beyond that used for revenue." Perhaps President Hoover had been reading this letter when he made that oft-quoted Armistice Day declaration: "We will reduce our naval strength in proportion to any other. Having said that, it only remains for the others to say how low they will go. It cannot be too low for us."

Councils between John Quincy Adams and Lord Castlereagh followed. It was agreed to submit the question to Parliament. Apparently there was small hope of a favorable consideration, for debates thus far confirmed the popular slogan, "To secure peace, prepare for war." To the great surprise of American diplomats, Lord Castlereagh gained his point, and John Quincy Adams was informed that the British Government was ready to confer with the United States on ship reduction. Negotiations were then transferred to Washington and Charles Bagot, a man of peace, was commissioned to act for Great Britain, but after six months' discussion no conclusion was reached.

Meanwhile James Monroe had been elected President and, until John Quincy Adams could be recalled from England, Richard Rush, then Attorney General of the United States, became the Acting Secretary of State. He appealed at once to Bagot and urged strongly that both forts and battle-ships be done away with. The relative strength of fleets was discussed; each country became assured of the good faith of the other, a reduction of ships was agreed upon, and together these two men carried through the agreement that bears their names. Signed in April, 1817, it became effective at once but was not proclaimed until later. A year after the exchange of notes, the correspondence was submitted to the Senate by President Monroe. It was approved

and on April 28, 1818, was formally proclaimed. It does not appear that the action of Bagot was formally confirmed by his government and no exchange of ratifications took place. Although concluded in an unconventional manner, the agreement has for 113 years had the binding force of a treaty. This international document reads as follows:

#### A PROCLAMATION.

WHEREAS an arrangement was entered into in the city of Washington, in the month of April, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and seventeen, between Richard Rush, Esq., at that time acting as Secretary of State of the United States, and the Right Honourable Charles Bagot, his Britannic Majesty's envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary, for and in behalf of his Britannic Majesty; which arrangement is in words following, to wit:

"The naval force to be maintained upon the American lakes, by his Majesty and the Government of the United States, shall henceforth be confined to the following vessels on each side, that is:

"On Lake Ontario, to one vessel, not exceeding one hundred tons burden, and armed with one 18-pound cannon.

"On the upper lakes to two vessels, not exceeding like burden each and armed with like force.

"On the waters of Lake Champlain, to one vessel, not exceeding like burden and armed with like force.

"All other armed vessels on these lakes shall forthwith be dismantled, and no other vessels of war shall be there maintained, built, or armed.

"If either party should be hereafter desirous of annulling this stipulation, and should give notice to that effect to the other party, it shall cease to be binding after the expiration of six months from date of such notice.

"The naval force so to be limited shall be restricted to such services as will in no respect interfere with the proper duties of the armed vessels of the other party."

AND WHEREAS the Senate of the United States have approved of the said arrangement and recommended that it should be carried into effect; the same having also received the sanc-

tion of his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, acting in the name and on behalf of his Britannic Majesty;

Now, therefore, I James Monroe, President of the United States, do, by this my proclamation, make known and declare that the arrangements aforesaid, and every stipulation thereof, has been duly entered into, concluded and confirmed, and is of full force and effect.

Given under my hand, at the city of Washington, this twenty-eighth of April, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and eighteen and of the independence of the United States the forty-second.

*By the President.*

JAMES MONROE.

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS, Secretary of State.

Subsequent letters from Rush to the Secretary of Navy, and those of the Secretary of Navy to the commanding naval officers of the various Lakes show that the schooners Porcupine and Ghent were to be retained on the Upper Lakes, the Lady of the Lake on Lake Ontario, and one vessel on Lake Champlain, but they seem never to have been used. If records are true, apparently for twenty years, at least, there was practically disarmament on both sides, since it is recorded that the British Commander-in-Chief reported to Bagot, "We are reduced to a boat's crew on the civil establishment." As a result of this action relations between Canada and the United States became more friendly.

The terms of the Rush-Bagot agreement provided that, except for four vessels of definite tonnage and armament, none were to be maintained, built, or armed on the Lakes. This meant no vessel could be maintained upon the Lakes unless built there, and none could be armed or built on the Lakes and maintained elsewhere. The makers of the agreement did not foresee the time when warships would sail from the ocean to the headwaters of Superior, since at that time there was no connection from one lake to another, except from Erie to Huron, and Huron to Michigan; no passage from the Lakes

to the ocean. Changing conditions and unforeseen events have tested severely the strength of the agreement. The spirit of the treaty has been kept, but not the absolute letter. Clouds appeared on the horizon at the time of the Canadian Revolution of 1837-38. To defend her shores from incursions of small bands of so-called Canadian patriots in the United States, Great Britain increased her armament. America protested. When the warship Michigan, built in sections in Pittsburgh, was assembled on Lake Erie, Great Britain protested, for this ship carried 498 tons burden, two eight-inch guns and four thirty-two-pound carronades. However, as "no ulterior motive" was shown, and as the United States had not availed herself of the privilege of maintaining the four vessels, the Michigan remained on the Lake and was the only American warship on the Lakes for fifty years.

Difficulties arose at the time of the Maine and Western Boundary disputes. Once the agreement just escaped abrogation, but the prompt action of Abraham Lincoln and William H. Seward saved it. It was during the Civil War that the United States found herself involved in a situation similar to that experienced by Great Britain during the Canadian Revolution. Canadian sympathizers then made depredations on the commerce of the Lakes. Late in 1864 the situation became so strained the House of Representatives passed a resolution that notice be given to abrogate the agreement of 1817, which required six months' notice. The Senate was delayed in passing this resolution. Secretary Seward, nevertheless, instructed Charles Francis Adams, Minister to England, to act; however, in February, 1865, as the triumph of the Union forces became more certain, the depredations on the Lakes ceased. In March Secretary Seward wrote to Adams "that the United States was willing that the convention should remain in force." This notice of withdrawal within the time limit (six months) saved the Rush-Bagot agreement from abrogation.



# The Philippines

Independence for the Philippines, which has again become an issue in American politics, is discussed in the two following articles from the respective standpoints of an American authority who holds that it is the moral obligation of the United States to maintain its present position in the islands and of a leading Filipino statesman who makes a plea for independence.

## I—America's Duty to Retain Control

By HENRY T. ALLEN

MAJOR GENERAL, UNITED STATES ARMY, RETIRED

IN DISCUSSING the relations and responsibilities of the United States to the Philippines, we are unavoidably taking up the question of our future in the Pacific. When Admiral Dewey in 1898, at the outset of the Spanish-American War, was directed to proceed to Manila Bay and destroy the Spanish fleet, few Americans had any knowledge of the Philippine Islands, much less of Manila Bay and its great harbor. If with a radius of 1,700 miles and Manila as a centre a circle be described, it will encompass more than 125,000,000 people. The population, however, that might be reached from Manila as a distributing centre would well surpass 400,000,000.

Since our occupation of the Islands the Filipinos have made marvelous strides in education, population, wealth, sanitation and general well-being. Although those potentially rich islands fell to us as the result of war, first with Spain and then with the Filipinos themselves, in the peace settlement that followed we turned over \$20,000,000 to the Spanish Government. In the post-war settlement with Mexico we turned over to that State \$15,000,000. This seems to be America's way of expressing sympathy with its defeated foes.

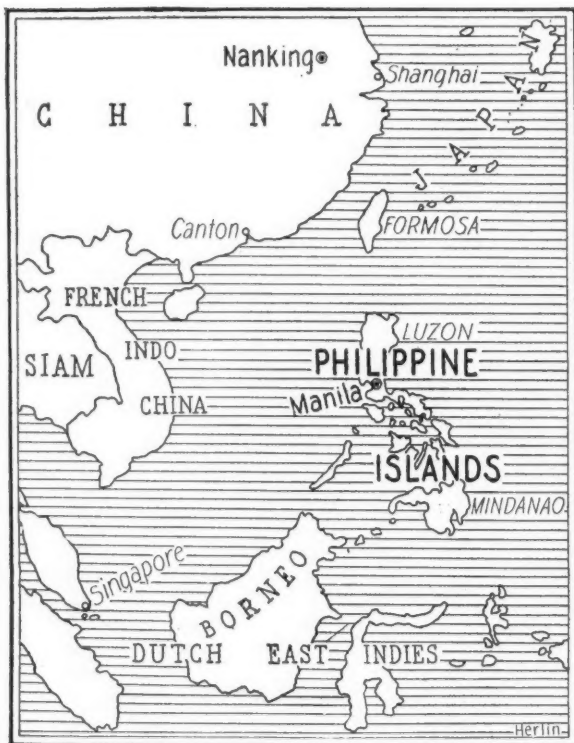
Our greater development in the Pacific began with the opening of the Panama Canal, at the beginning of the World War. The acquisition of these islands has bridged the Pacific Ocean for us and has extended the

American coast line 7,000 miles across the ocean.

In pre-Canal days our remote Pacific imports represented 12 per cent of all American imports and our exports 7 per cent. At present our imports are 30 per cent and exports 15 per cent. With Manila as a distributing centre Asiatic Russia must receive due consideration. From Kamchatka to the Ural Mountains there are great mineral and agricultural possibilities which may be the storehouse in the coming years for American enterprises. Our exports to Russia in spite of political obstacles have trebled since 1913 and our trade with her has doubled. Soon we shall have ships on the Pacific of 75,000 tons with draught well above 40 feet, thus greatly surpassing the draught limit proposed at the twelfth International Congress on Navigation at Philadelphia in 1912.

The Philippine problem, which is permanently on the Congressional agenda, must be viewed primarily from a moral standpoint, secondly from that of the Filipinos' desires, and thirdly from that of American self interest.

The word *Independencia* in the Philippines has been so widely used and so generally believed by the Filipinos to be a remedy for most of their ills that the ignorant classes are ready to accept it regardless of what it really means. On an expedition in the Island of Leyte I surprised and captured a small group of disguised *insurrectos* led by a spokesman who declared they



THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS

were peaceful citizens. When accused of being a sergeant, his pride was so touched that he quickly denied the allegation and affirmed that he was a lieutenant, and that his chief had gone over to the adjoining Island of Samar to get *independencia*. He did not know anything about the color or size of it or whether it was to be brought back in a box or a bag, but he knew that it was a good thing because everybody wanted it.

Our estimate of the future must be predicated largely on the past. This heterogeneous Malayan people has been ruled at different times by the Hindu-Malayan governments of Indo-China, Sumatra and Borneo. Yet later the Japanese ruled in the northern parts while Borneo Mohammedans held sway south of Manila. It was not until 1565 that Spain became the ruler of the Islands through New Spain or Mexico. Tribute was paid by Spain to Japan to prevent invasion over a period of thirty

years. These different sovereignties complicated an already complex problem. At various times the Portuguese, Dutch and British tried to overthrow the Spanish régime. Great Britain succeeded in taking Manila from the Spaniards in 1762, and in holding it for three years. This short historic statement of the struggle for the islands and of the numerous sovereignties exercised over them should be most significant to all who may be interested in America's great and noble experiment in the Orient. It is truly suggestive of what would take place should we set the Philippines adrift.

There are eight major dialects in the islands, each spoken by 500,000 inhabitants or more, and some more than seventy minor ones spoken by lesser groups. Roughly it may be stated that of the 12,000,000 inhabitants, thanks to Spain's Christianizing efforts

over a period of about 330 years, the Filipinos may be considered Christian, if we except something more than 500,000 pagans and nearly as many Mohammedan Moros.

The broad school plan for giving the Islands educational advantages and at the same time a common language has been strongly endorsed by the Filipinos, who have shown a marvelous desire and a most commendable effort to have their children attend school. The result is fast transforming the majority of the islanders into a more homogeneous people. Education plays one of the most important rôles in America's policy toward this people, Oriental in blood, but Western in religion and laws. Fortunately, hand in hand with the advance in education, public morality, sanitation and public order have been improved. Nowhere in any country's Oriental possessions has such an intensive educational program been attempted.

From the earliest moment of American administration of the Islands, a benevolence and a spirit of helpfulness toward self-government unknown in Oriental dependencies has been constantly exercised. In President McKinley's earliest instructions for the guidance of the commissioners sent to the Philippines in 1900 to supplant the military government, he said: "In all the forms of government and administrative provisions which they are authorized to prescribe, the commission should bear in mind that the government which they are establishing is designed not for our satisfaction, or for the expression of our theoretical views, but for the happiness, peace and prosperity of the people of the Philippine Islands; and the measures adopted should be made to conform to their customs, their habits and even their prejudices, to the fullest extent consistent with the accomplishment of the indispensable requisites of just and effective government."

From my own experience of something more than seven years in the Islands in close touch with the government, I can state that the policy thus outlined has been conscientiously followed. The present liberal democratic form of government is the growth of successive stages of transition from the early military government. From 1901 to 1907 the government was administered by a Governor-General as executive head and a Philippine Commission with legislative functions; from 1907 to 1913 by an executive Governor-General, a legislative Philippine commission with a majority of Americans and an elective Filipino Assembly; from 1913 to 1916 by the same except that the majority of the commission were Filipinos. Since 1916 the administration of the Islands has been under an act of Congress, known as the Jones law, with an executive Governor-General and an elective Philippine Legislature composed of a Senate and a House of Representatives. The Governor-General, Vice Governor, Auditor and

Deputy Auditor are appointed by the President; the Department Secretaries (formerly commissioners) are appointed by the Governor-General with the consent of the Senate.

Under the provisions of the Jones law Governor-General Francis Burton Harrison proceeded to turn over to the Filipinos governmental authority now generally conceded to have been in excess of their preparation by time, experience and training for such self-government as he envisaged. The result of his administration was a setback which fortunately has been largely adjusted by the attitude of Washington and the wisdom and foresight of succeeding Governors.

With all due consideration for the Filipinos, whom I know well and esteem highly for their many valuable characteristics, and for their natural desire to secure the largest possible part in the administration of their islands, I cannot fail to look upon the Jones law otherwise than as an untimely and unfortunate legislative act. It was passed by a few who really believed the Filipinos would presently be prepared to administer their own government; by perhaps more who were converts of the principle of a government "of the people, for the people, and by the people"; and by many more who were desirous of getting rid of this far-flung Pacific dependency, regardless of the ultimate fate of the Filipinos and the chaos that would ensue, if not among themselves, then assuredly through seizure by another power. The many thousands of acres of superior rice lands in the islands lying fallow would be a most tempting prize to any nation of rice-eaters, less favored with such lands.

More important still was the manifest disregard in the Jones law of our responsibility and moral obligation in this great altruistic enterprise so potent in its influence on democratic government in the Orient and throughout the world. We have organized and are carrying to a successful end a democratic government the antithesis of that accorded by Spain.

President Wilson in his message to Congress on Dec. 7, 1920, said: "Allow me to call your attention to the fact that the people of the Philippine Islands have succeeded in maintaining a stable government since the last action of the Congress in their behalf, and we have thus fulfilled the condition set by Congress as precedent to a consideration of granting independence to the islands. I respectfully submit that this condition precedent having been fulfilled, it is now our liberty and our duty to keep our promise to the people of those islands by granting them the independence which they so honorably covet."

With all respect to the memory of

President Wilson, I am constrained to say that he did not seem to have taken into consideration the presence and control of the United States as a determining factor in the stability of the government of which he spoke. Nor did he mention the all important matter of our financial aid without which that country could not maintain either an army or a fleet sufficient for its safety. It must be remembered also that 70 per cent of the Philippine exports are sold in the United States, whereas with independence and our tariff barrier these products must find different marketing. Foreign markets are open to the Philippines, but less than 30 per cent of their products go to them.

The total trade of the Philippine Islands for 1927, though greatly increased over earlier years of our occupation, was only \$271,000,000, of which \$106,000,000 were imports and \$155,000,000 exports. The assessed value of all taxable property in the islands for the same year was \$832,000,000, while the per capita revenue from taxation amounted to \$3.65. It is evident from this that the revenues of the islands would be totally inadequate to maintain a separate government. Crippled by direct loss of revenue, by increased interest rates on loans and by the paralysis of its industries, an independent Philippine Government would still be called upon to maintain a diplomatic service, army, navy and other agencies of a sovereign State.

Independence is a very alluring word. It is but natural that if the question were put to any given individual of any country as to whether he desired his country to be independent, his answer would be yes. The Filipinos may be classified in regard to independence into three groups:

(1) Those who desire im-



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DWIGHT FILLEY DAVIS  
Governor General of the Philippines



mediate independence but realize the necessity of having the United States give them protection for a number of years, possibly indefinitely; (2) those who hope for the absolute independence of their country, yet believe the present system should be continued until they are able to take over complete control with the consequent responsibilities, internal and external; (3) those of limited vision, led by shrewd politicians, who clamor for immediate, absolute and complete independence. To these three categories there should be added another composed of business men, including Americans, foreigners and Filipinos who strongly support American sovereignty as now exercised.

There are many Filipinos who believe and others who hope that, if the United States should grant them independence, it would still in its altruism assume the responsibility of guaranteeing them security and sovereignty. They do not realize that responsibility without authority or control would be unthinkable and that American defense is a corollary of American sovereignty, not of foreign sovereignty. The wiser Filipinos do not delude themselves by thinking that their present advantages could be secured by convention, treaty or sympathy should our sovereignty be relinquished. Political considerations in the islands, as is well known, exercise a potent influence in the clamor for absolute independence.

After the conclusion of the Four Power Pacific Pact in 1921, which in addition to scrapping warships was a pledge to cooperate for the preservation of peace in the Pacific, the agitation for complete and immediate independence by the Filipinos was renewed with great vigor. Just before this, President Harding, doubtful as to the fitness of the Filipinos for independent government within the meaning of the Jones law, sent a commission to the Islands composed of Leonard Wood and W. Cameron Forbes to study the situation and make a report on which he might base his actions and recommendations. It would have been difficult

to find two men better qualified by experience to report on this subject. Their findings contained the following: "We are convinced that it would be a betrayal of the Philippine people, a misfortune to the American people, a distinct step backward in the path of progress, and a discreditable neglect of our national duty were we to withdraw from the Islands and terminate our relationship there without giving the Filipinos the best chance possible to have an orderly and permanently stable government."

Following the McKinley policy that the Philippines are ours not to exploit, but to develop, to civilize, to educate, to train in the science of self-government, President Coolidge as late as December, 1926, directed Carmi Thompson of Ohio to proceed to the Philippine Islands and survey conditions there, particularly with reference to administration and economic development. He reported that "complete independence is impossible now and for a long time to come for the following reasons": Lack of financial resources to maintain such a government; lack of a common language, homogeneity and solidarity; the absence of a controlling public opinion based on public welfare; complication of international relations in the Orient; and the nullification of the free trade relationship with the United States, thus bringing about economic disaster for the Philippines.

The question of independence looms large again by reason of the Congressional discussion on the tariff, particularly on sugar. The sugar interests of the United States and Cuba seem to have joined forces in espousing the cause of the Filipino Independistas, regardless of the moral responsibilities involved. Financial interests seem to be in the saddle and unless a calmer and more reasoned attitude prevails, an international tragedy may be enacted. Various plans have been proposed recently for giving independence to the Islands—from immediate release to a longer period of training during which the free entry of Filipino products into this country would be curtailed in suc-

cessive stages. The farmers of this country, through their larger organizations, have been counseled to pass resolutions favoring independence. Their compliance has made a strong appeal to some members of Congress.

The very great moral responsibility and obligations of the United States can not be sufficiently emphasized. To leave the Philippines under present conditions would be an act for which posterity would justly chide this country. Regardless of the strain that holding them imposes, perhaps upon our Constitution and possibly upon our old concept of the relations of a government to the people, desertion at this time would be truly recreant to a trusteeship which is ours regardless of the conditions by which it was obtained or the difficulties under which it is maintained.

This great country, by reason of its dominant rôle in the world, must be prepared to accept responsibilities beyond its own primary confines. This is one of them; the Philippine problem is ours. In solving it, we have already accomplished a great good directly for millions of people and probably indirectly for many millions more.

The standards of living of the Filipinos have been raised, a fine educational system established, and their fundamental rights have been preserved. They have the rights and privileges of American citizens without the obligations. They pay no Federal taxes; they are exempt from the exclusion provision of our immigration laws and they do not pay for their defense or diplomatic services. They are represented in the United States by their own chosen representatives who are paid by this country. In the provinces and municipalities the officials are Filipinos; in the central government the legislature is made up entirely of Filipinos and possesses powers beyond legislatures in this country. The lower judicial officials are all Filipinos, with the exception of two; all judges of first instance are Filipinos; and four of the nine Supreme Court judges, including

the Chief Justice, are Filipinos. Five of the six heads of executive departments and the Attorney General are also Filipinos. In a word, the American officials represent only 1½ per cent of the total personnel of the government. This clearly indicates the measure of self-government already accorded the Philippines. Recently the Governor General of the islands nominated a Cabinet, the members of which are chosen in conference with the majority leaders of the insular legislature. He also has created a council of state, an advisory body, with which he can consult on matters of public policy. The Cabinet members have the privilege of the floor of each house. In the language of a well-known American, "The people of the Philippines may well reflect seriously before wishing to embark on the uncharted stormy sea of independence surrounded by unknown dangers in a craft ill-fitted for the difficulties to be met." Peace, progress, prosperity, security, liberty and freedom are tangible benefits not lightly to be cast aside.

The two major problems now confronting the Filipinos and upon which their progress, prosperity and well-being depend are the acceleration of the increasing output of natural products for which the islands are peculiarly adapted—hemp, rice, tobacco, coconuts and their derivatives, tropical fruits and sugar—and more important still the maintenance of their free markets in the United States. These things are more valuable to them at this stage than the independence for which they carry on a vociferous agitation.

To revert to American self-interest in this Oriental problem, it must be remembered that our future is largely in the Pacific. Our trade in the Orient has been expanding greatly and all indications point to a continually increasing volume. The proposal to give us naval bases in the Philippines, if accepted, would fall far short of the mark. Such bases without the hinterland would have little value in times of stress, and they would be fraught with

unending vexations. Moreover, without proper naval bases, it is not possible to meet the expanding demands of our commerce and the rôle that destiny has outlined for us in the Pacific. To reckon upon the uses of naval bases of other countries would mean being confronted with hopeless requirements in repairs and coal at critical moments.

Just as the New World provided Europe with the greatest market in history, so the vast Pacific expanses in

Australia, China and Siberia may constitute in the future the natural theatre of operations for American capital and enterprise. Naval bases and distributing centres of our own are absolutely essential to our future in the Pacific. Above all other considerations, such as our financial or political interests or the wishes of the Filipinos themselves, our moral obligations connected with this Oriental trusteeship take precedence.

## II—A Plea for Independence

By MANUEL ROXAS

SPEAKER OF THE PHILIPPINE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES; MEMBER OF THE PHILIPPINE COMMISSION OF INDEPENDENCE

THE PROBLEM of the Philippines must, as General Allen points out, be viewed principally from a moral standpoint, secondly from the standpoint of the desires of the Filipinos, and thirdly from that of American self-interest.

What are the moral issues involved in the Philippine problem? Only one—the fulfillment of a national commitment. Independence was promised to the Filipinos upon compliance with a specific condition—the establishment of a stable government. That condition has been fulfilled and a President of the United States has certified to its existence. Nothing remains to be done, therefore, but to carry out that pledge.

Fully realizing this situation, President Roosevelt, in an article published in 1918, said: "Apparently, its course [that of the Wilson Administration] in the Philippines has proceeded upon the theory that the Filipinos are now fit to govern themselves. Whatever may be our personal and individual beliefs in this matter, we ought not, as a nation, to break faith or even to seem to break faith." In another article, Mr. Roosevelt added these significant words: "I hope, therefore, that the Filipinos will be given their independence at an early date." The Filipino people look upon this phase of the prob-

lem much in the same way that President Roosevelt visualized it.

The argument that America cannot grant independence to the Philippines without violating a moral obligation with the other Pacific powers is devoid of any foundation. These nations cannot expect America to hold the Philippines indefinitely in the face of the declaration which America proclaimed to the world that the occupation of the Philippines was merely temporary, her policy being to grant the islands their independence as soon as their people were ready for it. Far from disturbing the peace of the Orient the withdrawal of America would tend to stabilize international conditions in that part of the world. It would relieve the strain of national jealousies and distrust which is the necessary result of the presence of such a strong power as America in that strategic position. If a moral obligation to the Pacific powers exists that obligation is none other than to faithfully carry out the announced policy to grant independence to the Philippines.

It is alleged that the Filipinos are not agreed on and do not understand what independence really means. Such assumptions are unfounded. The Filipino people are united in their desire for immediate, absolute and complete independence. This desire has been ex-



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## MANUEL ROXAS

pressed in many ways. It was the cause of our many revolutions against Spain. It was the great moral force that sustained the Filipinos in the hopeless war against the United States. All political parties are pledged to it, and the Legislature at every session since its organization has approved resolutions embodying that aspiration: No candidate is elected to office unless he advocates independence. Not only the political leaders but also the farmers and the business men have pronounced themselves in favor of separation from America. Their stand has been formally expressed by the Agricultural Congress and the Philippine Chamber of Commerce. Only recently the Independence Congress composed of representatives of all the vital forces of the Philippine Nation—economic, political and cultural—met in Manila and passed a resolution strongly urging the approval of measures now pending in the Congress of the United States providing for immediate independence.

If there should be the least doubt as

to the real and true desires of the Filipino people, that doubt could be dispelled if Congress should authorize the government of the Philippine Islands to hold a plebiscite on the question of independence, with all the issues clearly defined. The concession of Philippine freedom could be made dependent on the result of that plebiscite.

It is only just that in determining the final status of the Philippines the interests of the United States should receive proper consideration. It is asserted that the Philippines are valuable to America as a distributing centre for American exports to Asia and the Far East and as a naval base in the Orient for the protection of American commerce. The Philippines are ill-adapted as a distributing centre. It is much further from American ports than the markets to which American products are destined for delivery. Labor costs for handling of merchandise are higher in the Philippines than in the neighboring countries which would greatly add to marketing costs. Additional freight cost for transshipment to the intended markets is also an important factor.

There is another consideration. In accordance with the Washington treaty, America has agreed not to fortify the Philippines any further. Naval authorities are unanimous in conceding that in case of war America could not defend the islands. This being true, there is greater advantage for American trade both economically and from the viewpoint of security in case of war to prefer other ports in Asia such as Hongkong, Shanghai, and Singapore as centres of distribution. That this conclusion is sound and is supported by the opinion of business men is proved by the fact that up to the present there is not the least indication that American trade is building up the Philippines as a centre of distribution. If the Philippines were convenient for that purpose something should have been done during the last thirty years to that end. Actually, American trade is preferring Shanghai, Tientsin, Yokohama and Hongkong as ports of distribution



for the great markets of China and Japan.

"I have never felt," President Roosevelt said, "that the Philippines were of any special use to us. I do not believe we should keep any foothold whatever in the Philippines. Any kind of position by us in the Philippines merely results in making them our heel of Achilles if we are attacked by a foreign power. They can be of no compensating benefit to us."

It is asserted with emphasis that the two major problems now confronting the Filipinos are increased production and the maintenance of their free market in the United States. The Filipinos are aware of the importance of these phases of the problem. Every one admits, however, that the uncertainty surrounding the status of the Philippines is such that increased production is well nigh impossible. Capital will not invest under existing conditions. How long shall free trade with the United States continue? It may be terminated not only with the grant of independence, which may take place at any time, but even before that event takes place, by mere Congressional enactment, irrespective of the wishes or interests of the Philippine people.

The persistent agitation being carried on in the United States to restrict free imports from the Philippine Islands has accentuated the instability of Philippine economic conditions. These considerations have strengthened the desire of the Filipinos for independence. They are aware that their country is developing artificial economic conditions. They realize that the further prolongation of the existing relationship with America would so completely tie up their economic system with that of the United States that to grant them their independence then would result in serious economic ruin. The Filipinos, therefore, prefer that the change should take place now that the islands have the ability to stand the shock.

It is affirmed that the Filipinos are not ready to govern themselves, that

they lack the experience for self-government. Against these assertions the Filipinos offer their record in the government of the Philippines for the last thirty years. The period of greatest popular autonomy during the administration of Governor-General Harrison has seen the greatest progress in education, sanitation, public improvements, trade and economic development. It also reveals a marked improvement in the administration of justice and the general efficiency of the government. To judge fairly of the stewardship of the government by the Filipinos during that period, it is not fair to point only to their mistakes without mentioning their achievements.

The homogeneity of the Filipinos is being questioned. On this point President Taft had the following to say: "There is no tribal relation among Filipinos. There is a racial solidarity among them undoubtedly. They are homogeneous." As to culture, literacy in the Philippines is over 60 per cent. This proportion is higher than the literacy in thirty-six of the fifty-six independent nations, including Spain, Portugal, Chile and Siam. The proportion of the qualified voters who actually vote in the Philippine Islands is higher than in many other countries, not excepting the United States.

How could the Philippine Islands maintain their independence as against foreign aggression? The World Court, the Kellogg-Briand peace pact and other existing instrumentalities to insure the peace of the world, besides membership in the League of Nations, are the best guarantee for the international security of the Philippines. It is important to note that Great Britain, Japan, Holland and Portugal, mentioned by General Allen, as well as France, are members of the League of Nations. Section X of the Covenant of the League provides that "the members of the League undertake to respect and preserve as against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all members of the League."

# *The Rebirth of Disarmed Germany*

By GEORGE McK. McCLELLAN

A MEMBER OF THE WASHINGTON (D. C.) BAR

**W**HEN THE naval conference met in London, the powers there represented had before them a most impressive example of a great nation playing a real part in world affairs and commerce without making any pretense at either military or naval power. This monumental example is the new German Reich.

Could we ever hope to have a more complete and striking instance of the profits of disarmament? Here is a great race group, nationally assembled, whose ancestors and terrain have known intermittent warfare for 2,000 years. Two decades ago their entire national activity—mental, commercial and social—was utterly dominated by militarism. Today, with neither army nor navy, and no chance of reconstructing them, the German people are amazed at their own rehabilitation. The starved, exhausted, bankrupt victims of their own military system not only find themselves alive and undisturbed in their national life, but with undisputed freedom to regain their former great place in the world's commerce and industry.

This is not blinking at the continued hardships of German losses and the pains of readjustment. But the Germans, as a nation of intelligent realists, cannot overlook the somber reality of war—that its toll is not alone frightful; it is also inexorable, both for victor and vanquished.

Moreover, they have discovered that the crucial factor in their national recovery is their enforced freedom from military burdens. Not only is Germany's former heavy military budget now available to offset reparation payments, but her released man-power gives an additional wealth production; and the German Reich, despite her still impaired strength, shows clear evidence

of a rapidly mounting, effective vitality. Given a sound racial group of trained mental capacity, freed from the incubus and drag of military burdens and free to devote itself solely to the arts of peace and commerce, it is inevitable that it will exceed in internal development and outdistance in world trade any similar and competing group that continues under the military handicap.

By simple arithmetic it is easy to see that in industrial and commercial power the German Reich will presently excel both France and England. Under the Young plan the total German reparation payments are \$488,000,000 per year, of which \$157,000,000 is unconditional. As against that the French military budget is \$523,000,000, the British \$547,000,000, and our own for next year, \$741,000,000.

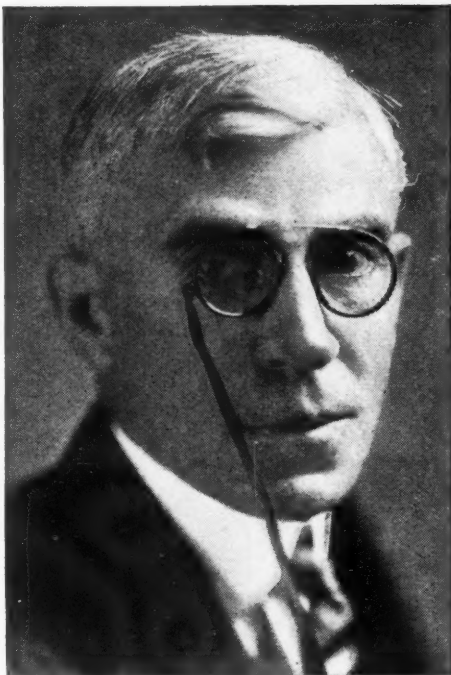
It is apparent, then, that since the military budgets of both France and England exceed the reparation payments of Germany by many millions each year, and since France and England each have vastly greater national debt payments to meet, it is only a matter of time until the German Reich, through her unburdened internal industry, will outstrip all her European rivals in world commerce. In another decade Germany will probably surpass England in her mercantile marine, since her percentage of post-war recovery in merchant tonnage has already exceeded England. The German Reich is free and secure both in her internal development and in her world commerce, and her conquerors, by increasing their own military incubus, are giving to the Reich an advantage which will soon place her ahead of all European rivals. They are ignoring the fact that hereafter supremacy will pass to, and remain with, whatever national groups

achieve and maintain the highest economic development, plus intelligent social adjustment.

The World War did two major things to Germany and the German people: In a negative way it retarded for two decades their cumulative progress toward a world-wide commercial supremacy; in a positive way it removed the overshadowing military incubus with its attendant caste system and it further released and restored the essential wealth of individual life, with incentive and pressure to make it operate efficiently for social, economic and national ends.

What are the results already attained? A former military leader now heads the nation at least as successfully as the former "All Highest." A Stresemann has steered the ship of State through greater difficulties than ever faced a Bismarck and with even more success; a Doctor Schacht proves that the nation has still plenty of financial talent of the first order. Two record-breaking ships, the Bremen and the Europa, show how rapidly Germany is resuming her place on the high seas; a great air transport system and outstanding production of great air carriers show how far in the van of leadership in the newest form of transportation is this undefended nation.

More than all, Germany's progress in new and better housing, her better standard of clothing among the masses, her provision of outdoor athletics and a freer, happier spirit of life, all tell the story of the inevitable speeding up in effective welfare of any trained race group when freed from unnecessary military burdens. For our purposes here we are considering neither Germans nor the German Reich as such. What concerns us is an impersonal, non-political object lesson; it is an illuminating example of cause and effect, of economic and national possibilities, of new ratios and records in human affairs. Here at last is being demonstrated the fact that any capable national unit, freed from the handicap of military burden, can make quicker relative progress toward social balance and



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GEORGE McK. McCLELLAN

commercial supremacy than can any competing group of like resources still carrying the military burden.

What is possibly more important today is the fact that this national group, planted in Central Europe, surrounded by potential enemies, where by the old theory of national defense a gigantic army and navy would be necessary, is not only wholly secure with neither of them, but has a greater atmosphere of security than almost any of the armed national units that surround her.

This leads us to the outstanding post-war rules of action. The two most important of these, internationally, are the bankruptcy of war, since war has become no longer profitable to the victors, and the fact that final military decisions will hereafter be controlled by economic and industrial resources, plus well-being and morale of national groups, rather than by fixed military establishments.

It is supremely important that the rest of the world appreciate what is



Portland Press Herald

## WHO WON THE WAR?

going on in Germany; a great nation in mid-Europe, having neither army nor navy, is moving securely and with quickening tempo toward one of the leading places in world commerce and internal development.

Only one thing could prevent the German Reich from becoming, within two decades, the leading nation of Europe; that one thing would be a renewal of military burdens and aims. When future years bring about release from treaty restrictions, the supreme test of the German people will be whether or not they recognize their own high destiny as leaders of a demilitarized civilization. Germany need only suppress her militarist minority, adhere to practically total disarmament and balance intelligently her social and industrial welfare in order to take within two decades the best position under the European sun.

The one luminous fact in Germany's

situation of world importance now is that she can move forward to this legitimate and desirable destiny with confidence. Her security from attack is at least as great as that of any of her militarized neighbors.

The German Reich is the test laboratory of a new world, a world which finds itself moving with new mechanisms under new conditions. While human nature remains much the same, the forces and processes of life have so radically changed that war is no longer the workable means of reaching a national objective. National supremacy now has to be reached by technical training, sanitary efficiency, industrial organization and financial balance. In short, it is the marshaling and balancing of a nation's man-power with its industrial, technical, cultural and financial forces that will hereafter produce supremacy. The interplay of forces in this changing world has

reached the stage where war is no longer profitable. It is little less than incredible to see how the recently defeated and bankrupt German people are swiftly outdistancing Great Britain, until recently the world's leading empire in commerce and industry.

Germany offers the greatest economic object lesson of history. That a great national group, bled white by an unparalleled war exertion, stripped to depletion financially and physically, obliged to rebuild its national structure under depressed morale, general bankruptcy and political chaos, has rehabilitated itself, is a modern miracle. It is a monument to German resources and character.

Let us not miss the chief significance of Germany's achievement: The unanswerable proof that any developed nation or economic group need only be relieved of military aims and burdens and released to the free use of its in-



herent resources in order to achieve rapidly economic prosperity and social well-being.

The intellectual and cultural gain that has come to the Germans is not to be denied. The one time intellectual and musical leadership of Germany had become atrophied, marbelized by the domination of the "All Highest" and his military clique. The stifling grasp of the military system paralyzed and froze the springs of national life at their source.

In the new Germany there is a democratization of education by eliminating the snobbery of private schools and by provision for universal schooling. Already there is a literary output that comes close to leading the Continent. The youth movement and the development of tennis, baseball, football and all outdoor life is a sound factor in Germany's new national growth, and may, perhaps, account in part for the 25 per cent decrease in beer consumption without the legal pressure of prohibition.

Reaction from militarism has made the German Reich in some ways more distinctly democratic than our own country. Her cartelization of industry includes representation for both laborer and consumer; a great family enterprise, the modern Krupps, has labor representation on its board which contrasts with the exclusive control of a Henry Ford. Germany's general economic progress is indicated by a 35 per cent increase in savings deposits in the past year; by a four-fifths replacement of her lost merchant tonnage, and by a new tonnage of four millions, which probably represents a better merchant marine than Germany has ever before possessed.

It may fairly be stated as a mathematical certainty that, if the present national policies of France and Germany are continued for a decade, the German Reich will have hopelessly outdistanced France, not merely in wealth and commercial power but in the culture and welfare of her people. Nor is

that all. By her superiority in aviation and chemicals Germany will become potentially a greater reservoir of war power than France.

The world significance of the renaissance of the new Germany lies in this: That with modern inventions and productive capacity, any intelligent and resourceful people can rapidly produce a surplus of the material wants of life; that to do this they need only release their mental and economic activities from the burden of military establishments and the distortion of military aims; that, given such freedom, they not only rise rapidly toward well-being and affluence but do so even under a heavy burden of reparation payments laid on their shoulders by a former misguided military régime.

Thinking men have long known, and the masses have long suspected, that militarism was the capital folly of civilized peoples. But in the practical question of how to get rid of the military incubus, the world needed a capital example. Only by cataclysmic forces could the greatest military monarchy of the world be transformed and realigned in the rôle of a self-directed people limited to the arts of peace, the production of wealth and social goods.

Apparently even social revolution could not have created this needed example. The Russian overthrow, perhaps the most thorough-going social revolution the world has ever seen, has not progressed one inch toward relieving mankind of the military incubus; for it retains both the military state of mind and all the restraint of normal human achievement that will forever attend the rule of any race group or nation based on militarism.

The war set up for the world one outstanding example of how a major national group may safely and most advantageously enjoy its place in the sun, even while its neighbors still embody the old exploded military threat. This is the one great salvage of the World War.

# William Howard Taft

## I—His Place in American History

By ALBERT BUSHNELL HART

PROFESSOR EMERITUS, HARVARD UNIVERSITY

TO THE PRESENT generation a United States without a William H. Taft seems unthinkable. Since he first entered the executive service of the United States almost exactly thirty years ago, he has been a large figure in national affairs. Few men have been so free from personal enmities; few have had so many attached friends; few have been active in so many different fields of public service.

No ex-President except Roosevelt in the last half century has had such continuing evidences of the interest and confidence of his fellow-citizens as Taft. He lived a long life—seventy-three years. He had the confidence of thousands of clients, law students and family friends. He has been the only man to occupy the two highest public positions in the United States. To be President is a great honor; to be Chief Justice of the Supreme Court is a great honor. He combined both.

It would be easy to fill a volume with interesting and creditable things about the late statesman. His heartiness and sincerity of manner, his genuine interest in the world about him, his ability to make and keep warm personal friends, his contacts with great numbers of his countrymen and countrywomen, are known to the whole nation. He was a frank, kindly, able and open-minded man, who rendered to his country great service in many different capacities. How can he be best placed in the turmoil and stress of the period of his active public life among other lawyers of renown, learned judges and able statesmen of his time? Upon one point all who study his career will agree—namely, that he was an outstanding man from the beginning of his active life. He was born into a circle of public affairs. In Ohio, seventy years ago, and

particularly in Cincinnati, there was an aristocracy of families, from one of which descended the present Speaker of the House of Representatives. The Tafts were also significant people. The father, Alphonso Taft, a Vermonter, married to the daughter of a Boston business man, was long in the midst of politics and public affairs. He held two successive posts in the Cabinet of President Grant. A Cincinnati Taft was therefore as much on the knees of the gods as anybody in the United States. True to form, the son returned eastward to enter Yale College in 1874, where he was the third of five Taft brothers. There he wrestled, debated, Skulled and Boned and, perhaps as important, came out second in his class of 121, was salutatorian, class orator and also a universal favorite. On his thirtieth anniversary he said on that subject:

I am very much touched by the remarks of our friend, but they are not true. It has happened that fortune has followed me. Whenever it was good for me to have something, that something was ready for me. I am more conscious than any man here that it has been largely luck that has enabled me to attain and hold the positions with which I have been honored. The thing which I enjoy more than anything else is the feeling when I come back here that I have the friendship, and I hope in some measure the respect, of the men of '78.

After graduating he took a degree at Cincinnati Law School and then plunged into the majestic stream of Ohio law and the maelstrom of Hamilton County politics. In 1886 he married in Cincinnati, and in 1887 became a State judge. That meant a good deal, for he was "judge-minded" from his entrance into legal studies. In 1892 he went on up to the United States Circuit bench, coupling his profession, as

many other judges have done, with a professorship in the Cincinnati Law School.

Here is revealed a remarkable attitude of mind. He liked his judicial work, he had a life appointment, and might look forward to a seat on the Supreme Court of the United States. Yet, when the opportunity came in 1903, he twice declined an appointment to the Supreme Court tendered by President Roosevelt. The reason is clear, when one examines the course of his public life. He had been selected by President McKinley in 1900 for a civil appointment (Philippine Commissioner), which for years turned his attention to active connection with public affairs, and eventually with the Presidency. When Taft entered public life the question of direct relations with dependencies outside the Continent of North America had not arisen. The Spanish War of 1898 put the United States in the hands of parties and elections. Taft, throughout, strongly supported the policy of occupation. President McKinley designated him for the head of a Philippine Commission in 1900; and President Roosevelt made him the first Governor General of the islands. His Philippine service was successful; responsibility was large, and carried out with skill, great spirit and success. He stated his conviction "that our nation is just as much charged with the obligation to help the unfortunate people that are thrust upon us by fate until they are fit to become a self-governing people, as it is the business of the wealthy and fortunate in the community to help the infirm and unfortunate of that community." Taft prepared the way for the more elaborate Philippine Government, which was set up after he became Roosevelt's Secretary of War in 1904. In 1907 he was put in charge of reorganizing the work of the Panama Canal. The most picturesque incident of his life was his discussion with the Pope and the Cardinals with regard to the Church plans in the Philippine Islands. The question was settled to the satisfaction of both parties.

Taft's wagon was hitched to a star when Roosevelt made him Secretary of War and an intimate friend. In 1908 Roosevelt made up his mind not to stand for a third term, and groomed Taft for the Presidency. He was easily nominated and elected, and served from 1909 till his defeat by Wilson, combined with the slantwise influence of the Progressive party of 1912, ended his Executive career. He returned to the law. Then came to him unasked, at the hands of President Harding, the appointment as Chief Justice of the United States, which was the cap-sheaf of his public life. From that great office he took his final leave of his country when he passed away on March 8, 1930.

To assign Taft's place in the roll of distinguished Americans is not easy. He was a most winning man, a man fond of his fellow-human beings. While President he once made a visit to Secretary of the Treasury MacVeagh at his country place in Dublin, N. H. His host opened his great house for a reception to all his friends; then widened the invitation to all the people of the town. Finally, by public notice the invitation was extended so that it is literally true that James Bryce, Ambassador of Great Britain, and the garbage man (unprofessionally garbed for the occasion), were presented almost side by side to the Chief Executive of the United States, whose good temper and good spirits won the hearts of the whole population. He was always one of the most accessible of men, one of the easiest to interest, a "good mixer." As a New York weekly, which for fifty years has been combing out American statesmen, said of him in 1909: "The President seems to have chosen to be all amiability and conciliation, on this long journey of his among the people. It is a rôle which he is eminently fitted to play. No kinder man or simpler democrat ever held his great office."

Taft was no silver-tongued orator, though a very agreeable public speaker—his periods sometimes punctuated by that delightful chuckle which was a national possession. He spoke easily, he spoke well; nevertheless, his hearers



Moffitt

## PRESIDENT TAFT IN 1912

could get away from him. For plain, blunt, convincing statement, he was less impressive than Grover Cleveland. Few of Taft's sentences come up to "we are confronted with a condition, not a theory." For fire and force and *ad hominem* appeal to the public, no President has ever equaled Roosevelt.

Taft, as a public speaker, might have made the same impression as the English Mayor who restrained his departing townsmen by the exclamation: "Don't go. I am not going to make a speech. I have something to say." A man who traveled with him through a course of speeches says of him: "There was no gesturing—almost none—for most of the time his hands were on his hips or in his pockets or reposing against his midriff. Sometimes he leaned a little forward to be emphatic. There was no spread-eagle oratory at all. No attempt at elocution. All was simple, straightforward, genial, kindly."

Not all Presidents place themselves

in the front rank of American literary men, as did John Adams, Abraham Lincoln and Theodore Roosevelt. Taft was a versatile man, but not a literary man. He published no serious volumes either in his specialty of law or springing from his opportunity as a maker of national history. His only non-professional books are collections of addresses. His published works are in three fields: his legal decisions in the various courts of which he was a member; his public reports as Executive and President, and his public addresses on a great variety of subjects.

Notwithstanding the long, varied and important public services of Taft, the two periods which will always stand out in the minds of inquirers are his Presidency and his Chief Justiceship. The Presidency was unfortunate both in its beginning and its end. Theodore Roosevelt, the new planet which arose in the political horizon in 1901, made Taft President; and after four years unmade him. That is a simple statement of a historic fact, which in itself was not discreditable to either of the parties. Nothing prevented Roosevelt's re-election in 1908 except that he said he would not run for a third term. As the greatest political power in the country, however, he felt himself entitled to propound a candidate. In his Cabinet the two leading men were William H. Taft and Elihu Root, both of whom had been brought into the political limelight by Roosevelt—both of them able, both of them warm friends of Roosevelt. It rested with Roosevelt to decide which should be his successor.

No one who knew the times and conditions would hesitate to decide that Root was the more astute and the more powerful; and to the end of Roosevelt's days Root felt for him a warm personal admiration and regard. Taft, on the other hand, was much more an outside man. He was a frequent speaker on public occasions, a man of wide acquaintance and many personal friends. The history of the United States would doubtless have been different if Roosevelt had chosen the New York man instead of the Ohio man.



In only one other case in the history of the United States has a President in office chosen and caused the election of the next President. There was something of Jackson in Roosevelt; like Jackson he backed the closer friend, with eventual political results resembling those of Jackson's designation of Van Buren. No one who has not lived through those times can understand how completely Roosevelt dominated the situation. It was in his power by turning over his hand to be himself renominated and re-elected. Instead he threw all his personal weight and some of his official weight in favor of Taft. No Republican convention could resist that power and Taft was duly nominated and elected in 1908.

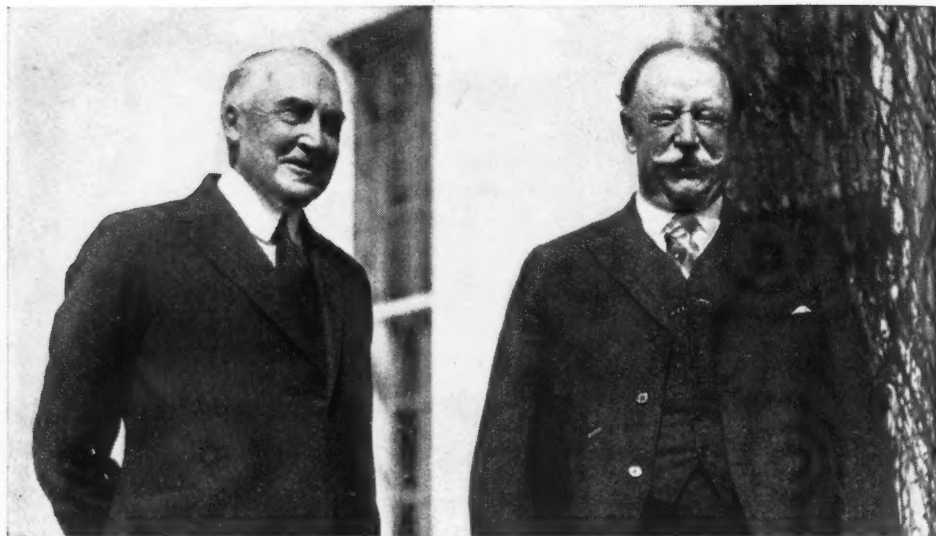
A fellow member of Roosevelt's Cabinet in November, 1908, to this day calls to mind the morning after the election, when Roosevelt said to him: "Will won't talk." The expected talk was about the future Cabinet of the President-elect. The resulting strains and struggles the world has never precisely known. They ended in the reappointment of some of Roosevelt's Cabinet and also in the significant decision not to reappoint some other members. Of the coolness that forthwith grew up between the outgoing and the incoming Presidents, there is abundant record and remembrance. In 1909 Roosevelt adopted the very sensible plan of taking himself out of public affairs by a journey to the interior of Africa, which kept him out of the United States for more than a year.

The late Charles G. Washburn of Massachusetts, classmate and

warm friend of Roosevelt, and also warm friend of Taft, later collected evidence to show that there was no open breach between them when Roosevelt departed. When he returned, more than a year later, there was a rift which widened steadily until the famous day in February, 1912, when Roosevelt "threw his hat in the ring," and announced himself a candidate for the Republican nomination for the next Presidential term. The result was a fierce struggle in the Chicago convention (of which the writer was a part), and Taft's renomination by a narrow squeak by the Republican organization. The Bull Moose party enthusiastically backed Roosevelt. This Republican split resulted in the election of Woodrow Wilson.



MR. ROOSEVELT AND MR. TAFT  
Just before Taft's inauguration on March 4, 1909



Times Wide World

#### PRESIDENT HARDING AND MR. TAFT

Shortly after the latter's appointment to the Supreme Court in 1921

This left Taft again a private citizen. For a few years he was professor of law at Yale University, but after the World War broke out he became the President of the League to Enforce Peace. Then came in 1921 his appointment by President Harding as Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, the place of all places to which he had aspired and a place for which he was admirably fitted.

As presiding judge of the most powerful court in the world, the summit of a lawyer's ambition, Taft was excellent but not exceeding. He faced various dissents in his own court, particularly from Justice Holmes and Justice Brandeis of Massachusetts. Few of his decisions have become classics like some of Marshall's, Storey's, Taney's and Fuller's. He felt with justice that he had had more contact with the actual commercial business forces and tendencies of the country than most members of the court.

He was a thoughtful judge who made use of his executive experience. In one of his political essays, he said: "It is of almost as much importance that the court of first instance should decide promptly as that it should decide

right." He had a kind man's impatience with the legal delays and especially delays in cases where the parties could not afford protracted litigation, declaring that "courts and Legislatures could honorably devote themselves to no higher purpose than the elimination from the present system of those of its provisions which tend to prolong the time in which judicial controversies are disposed of." He likewise severely criticized the delays due to the appeal system.

He was particularly disturbed by the delays in the prosecution of criminals. "The existence of lynching in many parts of the country," said he, "is directly traceable to this lack of uniformity and thoroughness in the enforcement of our criminal laws. This is a defect which must be remedied or it will ultimately destroy the Republic."

How deep a mark his decisions and his influence on the court have made on the jurisprudence of the country is for experts of the law to decide. Certainly he does not stand out in the public mind with anything like the distinctness of several Supreme Court judges of less ability and sense of the change of human conditions.

A brief list of Taft's public services would place him high among public men of his time. Yet in politics Taft was the victim of his own outspokenness and unwillingness to recognize that neither a candidate nor a President can safely say all that he knows. The incident in his political history which made the most impression at the time was the mistake of his Winona speech in 1909 in defense of the Payne-Aldrich tariff bill. It was not so much that he declared it "the best tariff that has ever been passed" as that he afterward publicly admitted that he had "dashed off the Winona speech between stations." The political friends of the tariff felt that they had been betrayed in the house of their friend.

Too little attention has been paid by biographers to Taft's private law business which was followed out between his judicial and civil public services. He believed in much closer regulation of railroads than was then expected. He was the author on the American side of the Canadian reciprocity act of 1912 which he put through Congress only to have it rejected at the northern end. The Canadians, perhaps with justice, looked upon it as a step toward a commercial union which would easily develop into political union.

Toward labor his attitude was that it was to the pocket advantage of capitalists to treat labor well and therefore that good treatment must be expected

if not presumed. He had a high respect for men who had accumulated a fortune as masters of other men, and he had a slant against government by injunction. In the case of a suit between Moors & Co. and their employes he upheld employers against strikers. Yet no one can say that as a judge Taft was a partisan for his social stratum.

When the prohibition question arose in 1918 Taft put himself on record against the system: "First, because a national liquor law in many communities will prove unenforceable because of lack of sympathy; second, because attempted enforcement will require an enormous force of Federal policemen and detectives \* \* \* because it means an unwise structural change between the people of the States and the central government."

Taft was a man who could both make and unmake friends; who as a practitioner seems to have been successful; who as a judge of four different systems of courts maintained a reputation for fair-minded thinking, and for judgments passed upon consistent principles; who won the deep confidence of the most powerful statesman of his period and then found himself at political war with that friend. Whatever faults were apparent to those who knew him well in the stress of political strife, thinking Americans saw in him a vigorous, hearty, outreaching, sincere and effective public man.

## II—Taft's Labors for International Peace

By FREDERICK LYNCH

SECRETARY, AMERICAN SECTION, ANGLO-AMERICAN COMMITTEE FOR INTERNATIONAL DISCUSSION

**W**ILLIAM HOWARD TAFT was the first head of a government to offer arbitration treaties to other governments covering all kinds of disputes. There had been many arbitration treaties signed before he was elected President, but they all excepted questions of "national honor and vital interests." He believed the time had come for the United States to negotiate all-inclusive treaties. In an

address before the Society for Judicial Settlement of International Disputes, at its meeting in Cincinnati on Nov. 7, 1911, he used these words: "It struck me, as I am sure it must strike you when you read a treaty that says, 'We will agree to arbitrate everything that arises between us except questions of national honor and vital interest,' that you have omitted from the things which you are to arbitrate about everything

that is likely to lead to war."

With this feeling possessing him he suddenly proposed to Great Britain and France that they conclude all-inclusive arbitration treaties with the United States. At a banquet at which the French Ambassador was sitting beside him he made a speech in which he expressed the hope that the United States might be able to make a treaty with some prominent European nation in which the parties would agree to arbitrate *every controversy* that could arise between them, whether or not it involved national honor or vital interests. When he sat down the French Ambassador immediately said: "We will make a treaty with you," and Mr. Taft replied: "I'm your man." A few days afterward Sir Edward Grey, in a speech in the British House of Commons, deploring the increase in naval appropriations, referred to President Taft's remarks, and, speaking for the British Government, said he was most anxious to conclude such a treaty, a suggestion with which Mr. Balfour, on the Opposition benches, concurred. That was the beginning.

President Taft soon drafted the treaties, and when they were made public they elicited much enthusiasm in all three countries, for they marked a great step forward toward international peace. Great Britain and France accepted them, and they were submitted to the United States Senate for ratification. It was the same old story. The Senate proceeded at first to emasculate them and then defeated them—but by only one vote. The peace-loving people



Underwood

MR. WILSON AND MR. TAFT  
Just before Wilson's inauguration on March 4, 1913

of the nation everywhere urged their adoption, but they were not quite strong enough in those days to carry the Senate with them. Ex-President Roosevelt threw the weight of his great influence against the treaties on the ground that none of the three nations would abide by them in time of crisis, though he lived long enough to change his mind, for not long before his death he stated publicly that the time had come for Great Britain and the United States to conclude such a treaty.

Mr. Taft never recovered from his disappointment. Some years afterward—in an address delivered at the Metropolitan Opera House on March 4, 1919—in words worthy of lasting remembrance he expressed this disappointment at the deep-rooted inhibition of



the American people that prevents them entering into any sort of a compact with the other nations of the world:

During my administration I attempted to secure treaties of universal arbitration between this country and France and England, by which all issues depending for their settlement upon legal principles were to be submitted to an international court for final decision. These treaties were emasculated by the Senate, yielding to the spirit which proceeds, unconsciously, doubtless, but truly, from the conviction that the only thing that will secure to a nation the justice it wishes to secure is force; that agreements between nations to settle controversies justly and peaceably should never be given any weight in national policy; that in dealings between civilized nations we must assume that each nation is conspiring to deprive us of our independence and our prosperity; that there is no impartial tribunal to which we can entrust the decision of any question vitally affecting our interests or our honor, and that we can afford to make no agreement from which we may not immediately withdraw, and whose temporary operation to our detriment may not be expressly a ground for ending it. This is the doctrine of despair. It leads necessarily to the conclusion that our only recourse to avoid war is competitive armament, with its dreadful burdens and its constant temptation to resort to the war it seeks to avoid.

It should be said that, although Mr. Taft lost his treaties, he did not lose the fruit of his endeavors. Henceforth, all arbitration treaties, wherever signed, were to be all-inclusive. "National honor and vital interests" were gone forever, so far as treaties were concerned. The greatest and most significant treaty yet signed, that of Locarno, whereby France and Germany pledged themselves "that they will in no case resort to war against each other," perhaps owes the words "in no case" to the work done by Mr. Taft while President of the United States, while the many arbitration treaties that have been signed between European States, under the urge of the League of Nations, are similar to the treaties he fathered in 1911.

We owe much to Mr. Taft for the fundamental principles of the League of Nations and certain articles of the

covenant. In that respect we certainly owe as much to him as to Mr. Wilson. Mr. Taft had been preaching the League idea and working at it for two years before Mr. Wilson, publicly at least, committed himself to it. The origin of the League was really at a little dinner at the Century Club, in New York, in October, 1914. Some of the officers of the New York Peace Society, including Professor Samuel T. Dutton, Hamilton Holt and William H. Short, called together a group of fifteen or twenty men to attend a dinner over which Mr. Taft presided. The purpose was to consider the possibility of establishing some sort of a League of Peace after the war, and Mr. Taft, speaking very emphatically, said:

The time has come when the peace-loving nations of the world should organize themselves into some sort of society in which they should agree to settle their own disputes by amicable methods, and say to any nation that started to go to war: "You have got to keep the peace or have all the rest of us against you."

This statement was exactly in line with his famous utterance at the dedication of the Pan-American Building at Washington some years before to the effect that this continent had become a neighborhood, and that if any two nations on it started to break the peace the others had a right to say, "You shall not do it."

The meetings at the Century Club were continued for some months, and out of them, largely under the guidance of Mr. Taft, there emerged a society called the League to Enforce Peace, with a platform consisting of four articles, one of which, Article III, provided that the signatory powers should jointly combine against any one of their number that should initiate acts of hostility against another. Articles X and XVI of the Covenant of the League of Nations are only expansions of this Article III of the League to Enforce Peace.

When the League to Enforce Peace was formally organized in Independence Hall, Philadelphia, by the group already mentioned, on June 17, 1915, Mr. Taft became its President, and threw himself wholeheartedly into the campaign

immediately launched to educate the people of the United States in the idea of a League of Nations as an instrument of permanent peace. He went up and down the country making speeches and did more than any one else in the beginning to acquaint the American people with the idea and to win them to it. If Mr. Taft stressed Articles X and XVI—"the enforcement clauses"—more than the ten years of the League's actual practice has justified, it should be remembered that those were the aspects of the League everybody was stressing at that time, as they were also in the discussions at the Paris Peace Conference when they were incorporated into the peace treaty.

Thus far Mr. Wilson had, so far as I know, never publicly made any reference to the campaign for the League, and we were none of us quite sure just how he reacted to the idea. We voted in the executive committee in the early part of 1916 to hold the first annual meeting of the League to Enforce Peace at Washington, and I am betraying no secret in saying that one reason we chose Washington was that we hoped to have Mr. Wilson as our guest. We felt that if we could induce President Wilson to attend one of the meetings he would probably commit himself to our plan. Neither am I violating any confidence in saying that certain members of our executive committee who called upon him took great pains to let him know what we wanted from him, namely, an indorsement of the League idea, if he was in sympathy with it.

It was apparent from our first conversations with Mr. Wilson that he had been following Mr. Taft's speeches with some care, though exactly where he stood we could not discover from the conversations. He asked many questions and seemed decidedly interested. He promised to come, and on the evening of May 27, 1916, spoke at the closing banquet at the New Willard Hotel. Mr. Taft presided, and when Mr. Wilson rose to speak no one, so far as I know, had the slightest idea what he was going to say. It proved a memorable and historic event, for, in his address, Mr.

Wilson publicly committed himself to the League idea.

"An association of nations"—this expression or its equivalent was henceforth to appear in nearly every document from the pen of Mr. Wilson. He and Mr. Taft, supported by an eminent group of statesmen in all the countries of the world, now stood shoulder to shoulder in urging the idea upon the world. When President Wilson returned from Paris to urge the acceptance of the League upon the American people, it was Mr. Taft who spoke with him in the memorable meeting in the Metropolitan Opera House, New York, and the two addresses went round the world together. When the covenant was being drafted in Paris it was to Mr. Taft that President Wilson turned, and several telegrams passed between them. Mr. Wilson greatly appreciated Mr. Taft's suggestions, and some of them were incorporated in the covenant.

I do not want in any way to detract from Mr. Wilson's share in the creation of the League of Nations. He may have been thinking his way toward an "association of nations" some time before the Washington speech referred to. He put days and nights upon the covenant in Paris, besides moving for the League at the first session of the Peace Conference. The evening before the opening of the Peace Conference Mr. Wilson received Hamilton Holt and me at his home in Paris. He was all aglow with the League which he was to propose at the opening session the following morning, and he informed us it was an assured thing that the conference would unanimously adopt it, as proved to be the case. Upon his return to the United States he devoted all his energy to persuading his country to enter the League with the other nations. He fell a martyr to this great endeavor. But the part Mr. Taft played in creating the League should also be remembered. It was a great disappointment to both Mr. Wilson and Mr. Taft that we failed to enter, but they both had the satisfaction of knowing that they had given the world its first great experiment in the community life of nations.

# Arthur James Balfour

By ANGUS FLETCHER.

DIRECTOR OF BRITISH LIBRARY OF INFORMATION, NEW YORK

[Arthur James Balfour was born on July 25, 1848, and died on March 19, 1930. He was a Conservative member of the House of Commons for Hertford from 1874 to 1885, for the Eastern Division of Manchester from 1885 to 1906 and for the City of London from 1906 to 1922, when he went to the House of Lords as the first Earl of Balfour. Private secretary to the Marquis of Salisbury from 1878 to 1880, he was employed on the Special Mission of Lords Salisbury and Beaconsfield to Berlin in 1878. For a time he was associated with Lord Randolph Churchill, Sir Henry Drummond Wolff and Sir John Gorst in the "Fourth Party" which criticized the Conservative leaders. In 1885 Balfour entered the Ministry as President of the Local Government Board and was raised to Cabinet rank the following year as Secretary for Scotland. From 1887 to 1891 he was Chief Secretary for Ireland, and then until 1892 First Lord of the Treasury and Leader of the House of Commons. After being

Leader of the Opposition from 1892 to 1895, he was again First Lord of the Treasury and Leader of the House of Commons from 1895 to 1906, and also Prime Minister from 1902 to 1905. He was then out of office until 1915, when he became First Lord of the Admiralty. While Foreign Secretary from 1916 to 1919, he headed the British War Mission to America in 1917. He was once more in the Cabinet as Lord President of the Council from 1919 to 1922 and from 1925 to 1929, and the chief British representative at the Washington Arms Conference of 1921-1922. In addition to numerous other political and diplomatic labors he also engaged in various intellectual activities and was honored by many of the leading universities and learned societies of the world. In writing this estimate of Lord Balfour's career, Mr. Fletcher wishes it to be made clear that he does so not in his official capacity and that, so far as his contribution is interpretative, it represents only his personal views.]

**A**MONG THE generation of statesmen now passing away the late Lord Balfour was one of the most fascinating figures, not only in his long career as a political leader, but also in his personality and his intellectual qualities.

Arthur Balfour (as he was known to the English-speaking world for so many years) presented in the two sides of his character an enigma which is perhaps peculiarly English. True, he was a Scot of an ancient line, born within a few hours' ride of Edinburgh, and some have seen in his metaphysical turn of mind a characteristic which is said to be peculiarly Scottish. But for all practical purposes he was an Englishman—the product of Eton—"the amiable dilettantism of Eton"—and of Cambridge, and what is more, he grew up and flowered under the sheltering influence of the great English house of Cecil.

His mother was a sister of Robert Cecil, Marquis of Salisbury, the last Prime Minister to direct the British Government from the House of Lords, and at that time still a personage of the weightiest influence. Had Arthur Balfour been exposed to the rough and tumble of life, had those powerful props not underpinned his early political career, we may well question whether he would not have found his way to a chair of philosophy at one of the ancient universities rather than to the front bench of the House of Commons.

Many descriptions of him as a young man have been left by both friends and opponents. They leave a vivid picture of an awkwardly tall, rather delicate, some say even effeminate looking, young man, languid to the point of affectation. T. P. O'Connor, writing of him in 1887, shortly after he had become Chief Secretary for Ireland,



Times Wide World

## LORD BALFOUR

On his eightieth birthday

said: "Mr. Balfour is a tall and very slight man. The neck is long, narrow, and as thin as that of a delicate girl. On the whole the impression he would give to a stranger, who saw him for the first time and did not know him, would be that he was a more than usu-

ally mild member of the mild race of curates. \* \* \* Sitting on his seat in the House, with his rather long legs stretched out before him, he gives an impression of physical and mental lassitude which could never be associated with a vigorous policy or a firm character." To Beatrice Webb at about the same time he was "tall, good looking and intellectual. Says cynical and clever things, which are meant to be cleverer than they turn out to be. Easy and well-bred—of the old type of gentleman politician, a type fast fading out of existence."

There is nothing in these descriptions which would suggest the underlying rigidity of character which was revealed later at several stages of his political career, nor any promise of his brilliancy in debate and his quite extraordinary command of the House of Commons.

His interest in philosophy early made its appearance. By the time he was 30 he had published his well known *Defense of Philosophic Doubt*, and from time to time throughout his long life he offered considerable contributions to the literature of philosophy. His place among the leaders of philosophic thought cannot, it is true, be estimated as in the first rank, but his work has received undoubted recognition. His fame even here is perhaps due in no inconsiderable degree to his skill in dialectics, which was one of his outstanding talents. It is not without interest that the argument of his *Foundations of Belief* was "primarily directed against the dominant philosophy of the day—not against science, properly so called, but against the construction put upon it—Naturalism, there was the enemy!" It is interesting also to know that the quality which he conceived as distinguishing man from the brute creation was the capacity of being influenced through the action of authority rather than through the exercise of reason. Perhaps this was not surprising in a Tory of the old school.

And perhaps it was the philosopher



in him that enabled him to retain his youthfulness so long through a life which most people would regard as the best possible excuse for an inactive old age. Until he was 80 he played tennis, which he took up because, as he said, he was too old for golf. In addition to a number of speeches on the royal and ancient game he is the author of a delightful article on the humors of golf in the Badminton Library volume, and in a famous cartoon in *Punch* he is depicted over the legend, "Had I addressed my friends with half the zeal that I address my ball—." His description of the game as one "which requires all that nature has given us of muscular adaptation, accuracy of eye and of judgment, delicacy of touch and of temper," is a good example of the grace and lucidity of his diction.

But it was not merely that he remained active in his favorite sports up to the last that distinguished Lord Balfour from his contemporaries. He thoroughly enjoyed and appreciated music, a quality which was decidedly unusual among English public men of his period. His whole outlook was toward youth rather than in the direction of oncoming age. No words can express this essential feature of his character better than his own: "To be an optimist is to be a believer in youth. It is, after all, the young people who are going to do this work. Let us believe in them. I believe in them. Doubtless they occasionally have their weaknesses. And among these weaknesses sometimes is a very imperfect appreciation of the virtues of their seniors. But these weaknesses are always ami-

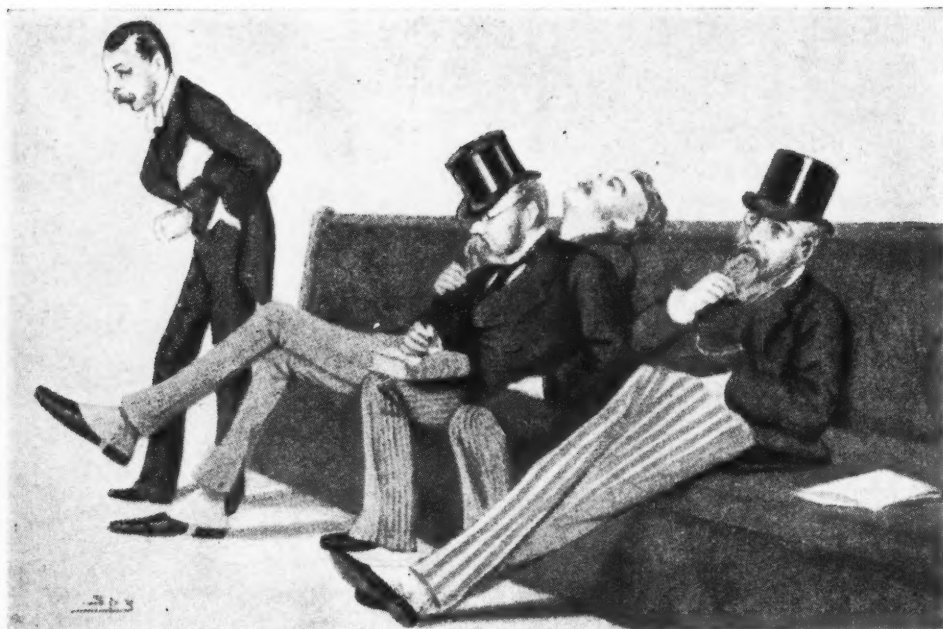
able; they always give me at least a great feeling of pleasure mixed with a slight touch of pathos. When I hear of the new art I know it is going to be the old art quite soon. When I hear that there is going to be a new school of politics I know that in a year or two its professors will be described as 'the old gang.' That, after all, is how the world is made, and, after all, it is not a bad way. If it were not for the young how would the world move? Whatever the old people may think of themselves, it is inevitable that they should be somewhat petrified by long experience as well as taught by it, and that they should lose some of that flexibility of mind which is possessed by youth."



—*Punch*, London, Sept. 23, 1910

#### THE IMPEACHMENT OF WOLSEY BY HIS HEADSTRONG FOLLOWERS

A suggested addition, by the restless Tory press, to the Tudor scenes now being painted for the Houses of Parliament



From *Forty Years of "Spy,"* Brentano's

#### THE FOURTH PARTY

Lord Randolph Churchill, Mr. Balfour, Sir Drummond Wolff and Sir John Garst  
cartooned by "Spy"

When we turn to consider Lord Balfour as a statesman we are compelled to ask how any one apparently so badly equipped for the stresses of the new political world of the twentieth century was yet able to make a great name on the political stage.

Winston Churchill in his biography of his father, Lord Randolph Churchill, recognizes the Balfourian enigma: "In the early days of the Fourth party no one, certainly not his comrades, regarded him as a serious politician; \* \* \* he seemed so lacking in energy, so entirely devoid of anything like ambition, so slenderly and uncertainly attached to politics at all, that his friends feared he would withdraw altogether, and none recognized \* \* \* in this amiable, easy going member for a family borough the calculating, tenacious and unwearying Minister who was destined \* \* \* to control the House of Commons and shape the policy of the State."

Balfour was of course a Conserva-

tive—rather, one should say, a Tory in the true English sense of the word, and no philosophic questioning, no close association with what we might call the "progressives" of his party seems ever to have deflected him in the slightest from the orthodox path of Conservative principle. In his philosophic works, it will be recalled, it was man's submission to authority, not his governance by reason, which distinguished him from brute creation. Nothing could be more satisfying to the Conservative mind. He was orthodox enough, but when Lord Salisbury placed him in charge of Ireland, at a moment when that Cabinet post was incomparably the most dangerous and difficult of all, his contemporaries, judging by a deceptive exterior, were filled with amazement if not dismay; as for the Irish, they were derisive. The astonishment of friends increased and the derision of enemies disappeared when this seemingly languid and amiable flaneur disclosed an ad-

ministrative capacity of quite unusual rigidity and tenacity of purpose.

Rigidity and tenacity, however, did not always distinguish him in his political career. Certainly there was nothing inflexible about him when later the Conservative party came to be tormented with the schism of tariff reform, and the argumentative quarrel, free trade versus protection, stalked up and down the land, moved by the magic of Joseph Chamberlain. From 1902 to 1905 Mr. Balfour as Prime Minister was successful in the face of untiring efforts to force or trap him into a false, indeed, into any definite step; he maintained his difficult balance by sheer parliamentary skill. His flexibility in those years was the target of the Liberal party, but it is not often that politicians in the thick of controversy display such courage as did Balfour when he declared that he had "no settled convictions" on the burning question.

In considering his political career we

must recognize also that chance played a very important part in it, and perhaps the influence of fortune provides the clue to the puzzling contradiction between his personality and his political success.

In the first place, it must be remembered that he entered political life under the wing of the House of Cecil, which even in these days of Socialism would be no mean protection to a rising politician, and in the mid-Victorian period was still most potent. To the House of Cecil his loyalty never wavered. The somewhat unorthodox friends of his youth early noted his inseparable attachment to his uncle, Lord Salisbury, and when the Fourth Party became dangerously critical, as Mr. Churchill has observed, the separation of Mr. Balfour from that vigorous band of "insurgents" became notorious. While the Conservatives were still in opposition, Lord Salisbury for his part appears to have marked down



—Westminster Gazette, London, June 23, 1903

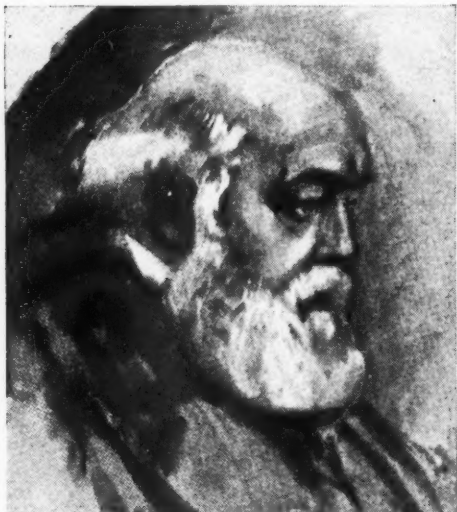
WHEEL AND WOE

his nephew as the leader of the party in the House of Commons; this in itself opened the road to the Premiership or at least to high Cabinet rank. In due course Mr. Balfour did become Leader of the House, and though Lord Salisbury himself conducted his Ministry from the House of Lords, his nephew succeeded him in 1902 on his retirement without an election, having in the meantime filled posts of increasing importance in the Cabinet.

Clearly family interest was a substantial element in this progress. But fortune played other winning cards for him. His own contemporary and friend, Lord Randolph Churchill, who as a rival for the leadership of the party seemed to have a far greater equipment of force and brilliance, died just when his career was opening out. On the other hand, Parnell, who might have proved more than a match for the young Chief Secretary for Ireland, and thus have wrecked his career at its outset, fell by the wayside a victim to Victorian conventionality. Thus, quite by chance, two dangerous obstacles to Balfour's career were removed from his path. Finally, in 1911, his party twice defeated, he retired from its



From *Forty Years of "Spy,"* Brentano's  
MR. GLADSTONE IN 1887  
A cartoon by "Spy"



From *Forty Years of "Spy,"* Brentano's  
THE MARQUIS OF SALISBURY  
A portrait of Balfour's uncle by "Spy"

leadership, not, it should be noted, in the flush of victory, but at the end of a long and rather humiliating losing fight, only to be summoned back to the arena from the twilight of old age by the outbreak of the World War. Thus it happened that he remained to play a great part in the stupendous events of the last decade and to link his name with some of the first steps of the new international era.

Of his executive capacity the first outstanding evidence was the strength and resilience with which he carried through the Conservative policy of stamping out crime in Ireland. By what was called "coercion" he succeeded in reducing serious crime to a very low point, but the policy itself was, as Algernon Cecil has remarked, a policy that had no finality. It presupposed



the continuance of a political relationship between England and Ireland which is not in accord with the view which in the relatively short time since then has been universally accepted within the British Empire as the guiding principle of the relationships between the mother country and her dominions.

It was his leadership of the Conservative party while in opposition that brought out Mr. Balfour's great ability as a practical politician. Here it was that his superb quality as a debater was made plain to a delighted nation. It must be remembered that his defeat in 1905 was severe. The Liberal party under Campbell-Bannerman had come back to power supported by one of the largest majorities that the House of Commons has ever seen. Leadership of the Opposition in these circumstances was a more than difficult task; it was disheartening. Balfour showed himself at his best and his criticism of the government's policy was both apposite and pungent.

In the United States Lord Balfour will always be associated in the public mind with the entry of the United States into the World War, when as the head of the War Mission he came in 1917, bringing from Great Britain a message of gratitude and a plea for the urgent needs of the Allies. The

impact of his great mind, his courteous manners and his rare and entertaining personality upon his American acquaintances of those days is still a matter of story. On this side of the Atlantic we think of him also in connection with the Washington Naval

Conference when, as head of the British delegation, he accepted the exchange of British naval supremacy for the ideal of Anglo-American parity.

Finally, he is known as the author of the Balfour Note and of the Balfour Declaration. In the Balfour Note he announced the policy of Great Britain with regard to the obligations that had arisen between the various nations in consequence of the war, namely, that in no circumstances did Great Britain propose to ask more from her debtors than was necessary to pay her creditors. In the Balfour Declaration he placed on the international record the prospect of the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people.

If we were to sum up the character of

Lord Balfour no words would be more fitting than those of Algernon Cecil: "No mind more subtle, no manner with greater charm, no learning more lightly carried." With him passes a great political figure from the English-speaking stage.



From *Forty Years of "Spy."* Brentano  
ASQUITH IN 1904  
Cartoon by "Spy"

# CURRENT HISTORY IN CARTOONS



TESTING HIM FOR WITCHCRAFT  
—New York Herald Tribune



OUR LAND OF MAKE-BELIEVE  
—New York Herald Tribune



Where 72 per cent of your income taxes go  
—St. Louis Post-Dispatch



They've all been more or less punctured  
—New York Herald Tribune









MAN AGAINST METAL  
—St. Louis Star

#### A FRANKEN-STEIN OF THE EAST

Gandhi: "Remember, no violence; just disobedience"

Genie: "And what if I disobey you?"

—Punch, London



#### CRYSTAL GAZING

—San Francisco Chronicle





#### THE DIE-HARD

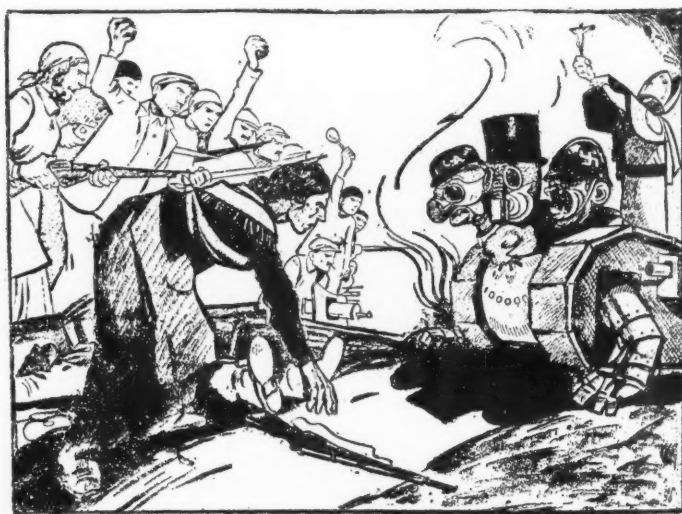
Sebastian Mac-Donald—"Ah, well, one arrow—in a non-vital spot—doesn't make a martyr"

Chorus of Indefatigable Archers—"Plenty more to come"

—Punch, London

The Soviet facing armed intervention and the Pope

—Pravda, Moscow





#### AUSTRO-ITALIAN TREATY

Friendship between former enemies is more sincere than between former friends (referring to France)

—Il '420,' Florence

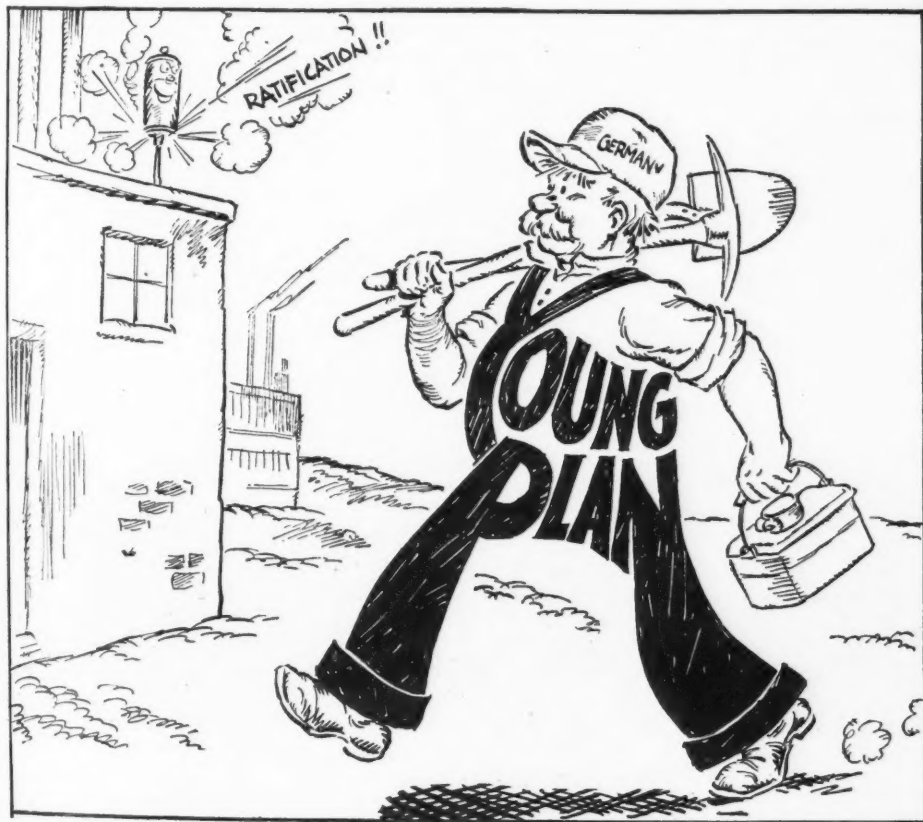


#### BRIAND'S PEACE POLICY

"Uncle Aristide, won't you wear a carnival mask?"

"No, my face is always a mask"

—Kladderadatsch, Berlin



#### DEUTSCHLAND'S OVER-ALLS

—Knorville News Sentinel

# *The Farm and Factory Conflict in American History*

By J. MARK JACOBSON

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE, UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN

CONGRESS TODAY is the battleground of two diametrically opposing economic camps—farm and factory. Members of Congress realize that they are not merely Republicans or Democrats but that they represent constituents interested in agriculture or in industry. Farm relief, tariff revision and committee appointments afford convenient fencing grounds for the proponents of these conflicting economic interests. Manufacturers' associations and farm organizations are awake to the fact that government can vitally affect their economic well-being. Industrial capitalism, through its Moses, its Bingham, its Grundy, is holding out its palm for a governmental hand-out in the form of higher tariffs against foreign competitors. The agrarians, especially those of the Middle West, have learned that governmental action is an effective substitute for the "natural laws of economics." Now organized into an efficient fighting unit, the representatives of agriculture demand Federal aid for their economic well-being. They clamor for farm relief—an equalization fee, if possible; at least, government assistance in marketing. Nor is that all. Agriculture refuses to pay the consumers' bills for industrial protection. If Congress is to revise the tariff, the new schedules must cut costs to the farmer; and agricultural tariffs must grant him total domination over the American market. Agricultural aid, however, would inevitably result in higher food prices for industrial workers and, consequently, in their demands for higher wages. Industrial protection, on the other hand, means greater costs

to the farmer for clothing, for farm machinery, for fertilizer. The interests of farm and factory are thus inimical.

This agrarian-capitalist struggle is not the child of the present decade. It is an inheritance from a distant past.

The beginnings of the conflict in American history date back to pre-Revolutionary days. In the years before 1776 a sharp cleavage characterized the relationship of the frontier, agrarian communities and the seaboard, commercial towns. Frequently, the frontier farmers were in debt to seaboard merchants and money lenders. They protested against unequal representation in the Colonial Legislatures, against unfair incidence of taxation, and against cumbersome, unfriendly administration of justice in their frontier communities. They voiced their protests vociferously in the popular assemblies; on a few occasions, by armed uprisings. As the war with England approached, these frontier agrarians—already versed in the arguments of "no taxation without representation"—became disciples of the democratic, revolutionary ideas and, before long, the leaders of the Revolution. The American Revolution became not merely a question of home rule but also of who should rule at home. The State Constitutions set up by the revolutionists increased to a remarkable degree agrarian control.

Constant friction between the agrarian and commercial groups characterized the years following the Revolution. The individual States were supreme over the central government of the Confederation; and within the States the popular, agrarian Legislatures were omnipotent. The State and Central Gov-



ernments had financed the Revolution through paper money, bond issues, and certificates of ownership to Western lands. Financial instability caused a rapid drop in the value of these securities. The declining value of the dollar enabled the debtor, in this case the frontier agrarian, to repay to his creditor, the seaboard merchant or money lender, only a portion of the purchasing power which he had borrowed. It was to the agrarians' interest then to continue the operation of the money presses and to decrease further the value of the dollar. While the agrarian group fared well during this post-war period, the capitalist class suffered economic hardships. Interstate tariff walls, differences in currency systems, unfriendly judicial administration in debt collections, exclusion from the British mercantile system, the impotence of the Confederation to negotiate trade treaties, the continuous drop in the value of paper money—all this played havoc with commercial prosperity. The fiat money and the land certificates bought up by this group were worthless unless a strong Central Government could be created able to redeem these promissory notes and to provide roads and protection in order to open the Ohio Valley.

It was representatives of this capitalist group that met in Philadelphia in the Spring of 1787, ostensibly to revise the Articles of Confederation, actually to engineer a peaceful revolution and create a new system of government. Not one member of the convention represented the economic interests of the agrarian or mechanic groups.

The framers of the American Constitution agreed in their distrust of popular—that is, agrarian—rule, and in their desire to protect their property and economic interests against the attacks of agrarian Legislatures. James Madison, now called the "Father of the Constitution," early pointed out the necessity of checks against the propertyless classes in society. Alexander Hamilton likewise perceived the clash of economic interests between the capitalist and agrarian groups.

The delegates to the Philadelphia convention wrote into their draft of the Constitution their commercial, anti-democratic views. The Central Government was empowered to lay and collect taxes; it need no longer make polite requests for funds to jealous State Legislatures. The new government could maintain an army and navy; this grant of power would defend the commerce of the merchant group and force open for them foreign markets; it would also provide protection against a second Shay's rebellion. Federal control of foreign and interstate commerce would eliminate the difficulties of tariff walls and trade rivalries among the several States. Federal jurisdiction over the territories would facilitate the opening of the Western lands and would consequently enhance the value of land securities held by speculators. The power to coin money and regulate its value would render interstate commerce simple and profitable. Meanwhile, corresponding restrictions were laid upon the State Legislatures in order to prevent agrarian attacks from this direction. State taxes upon imports and exports were prohibited; tariff barriers became illegal. The Constitution forbade the States to issue paper money; the confiscation of creditors' property through inflation became impossible. No State could pass any law impairing the obligation of contracts; lenient bankruptcy and debtor laws were thus ruled out.

In the structure of the new Central Government excessive care was taken lest its machinery should fall into the hands of the agrarian masses. The fathers of the Constitution constructed a government of balances so as to prevent a majority from ever dominating the minority of the opulent. Four organs of government were created; a different method and time of choice was provided for each. The House of Representatives was to be elected by the masses every two years; the Senate, by the State Legislatures every six years, but with only one-third of its membership leaving office at one time; the President, for four years by



Courtesy N. Y. Public Library

A New England farm about 1800

a specially constructed and independent Electoral College; and the Supreme Court, for life by the President and the aristocratic Senate. In case the agrarian masses should capture these four bulwarks of property, the amendment process would provide an additional safeguard. The fundamental law of the land could be altered only with the concurrent consent of two-thirds of the popular House of Representatives, two-thirds of the State-elected Senate, and both branches of three-fourths of the State Legislatures.

The commercial-industrial group capitalized on their victory of 1787. Under the leadership of Alexander Hamilton the Federalists created a national bank to centralize the credit institutions of business, erected a tariff to protect their infant industries and refunded at par value the much depreciated Revolutionary debts.

The very success of this group, how-

ever, engendered the fatal opposition of the agrarian elements in politics. The centralization of government and the construction of a strong capitalistic economic structure produced no direct, immediate or visible benefits to the agricultural interests. They, moreover, had to pay the costs of the new system. The first agrarian group to attain sufficient political power to question the supremacy of the Constitution makers consisted of the large plantation owners of the South Atlantic States. By 1800, with the aid of the large number of, but poorly organized, agrarians of the North, they were able to wrest control of the political machinery from their economic rivals.

Nature had so adequately taken care of the needs of the farmers of the South that they had hardly any need for political aid. Nature, not government, had provided easy access to European markets. The Jeffer-

sonian plantation owners did not propose to permit government to construct artificial obstacles in the way of tariffs. Nor could government of this age give any scientific assistance to agriculture. Quite naturally, the Jeffersonians adopted a philosophy of *laissez-faire* and advocated decentralization and economy in governmental activity.

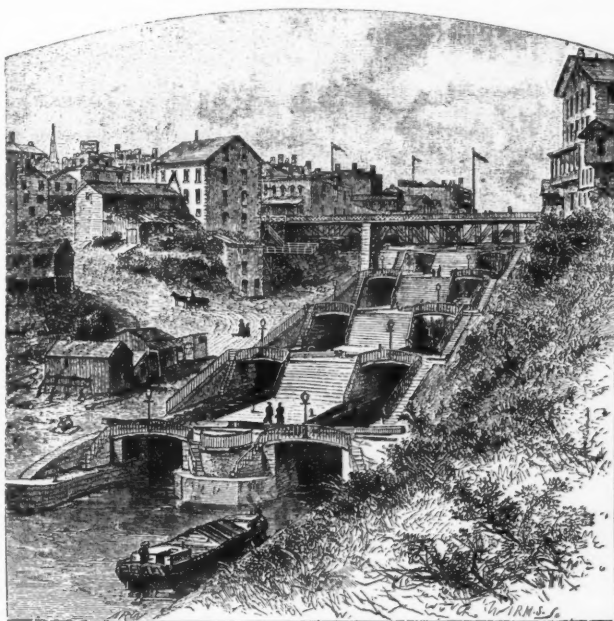
Jeffersonian agrarianism maintained its supremacy until the War of 1812. Meanwhile, a new agricultural group was growing in political power. The opening of the Ohio and Mississippi Valleys had caused a shift of population and an economic shift to the western frontier. The new frontier agrarianism was made up of rough-and-ready men. Frontier dangers and hardships created an equalitarianism more real than that idealized by the Declaration of Independence. In one important respect this frontier agrarianism differed from the plantation agrarianism of the South. Nature in the form of the Alleghenies had cut off the Ohio Valley farmers from their proper Eastern markets for their surplus corn and wheat. Demands for roads and canals to connect the West and the East, consequently, punctuated the period of Jacksonian agrarianism.

In 1828 this new agrarianism won control of the Central Government. The next decade saw constant conflict between the agricultural and industrial interests. Jackson smashed the second United States bank. Congress, in the '30s, lowered the tariff, which had been increased after the War of 1812. The Federal Government subsidized road building and canal construction. A more liberal land policy opened the way for rapid economic development of the West.

The development of transportation and the increase in available land meant not merely easier access to markets but also a steady movement of population across the Alleghenies and an increase in land values. The frontier agrarians learned that they could employ government to put dollars into their pockets. To a slight degree, then, they abandoned the extreme *laissez-faire* policy of the Jeffersonian school.

The second quarter of the nineteenth century discovered the nation at grips with a new phase of the old agrarian-capitalist conflict. Two systems of economy were rapidly growing to maturity—one, agricultural; the other, industrial. Their clash brought bitter debate over States' rights, forced secession from the Union, and ended in four years of civil war and a victory for industrialism.

The years after the Revolution saw the gradual development of industry in the Northeastern States. Industrial life was fostered and developed by the



Courtesy N. Y. Public Library

#### THE LOCKS AT LOCKPORT

Part of the Erie Canal which was opened in 1825



Hamiltonian tariff and the War of 1812.

The quiet, easy-going, static economic life of the Jeffersonian plantations had, meanwhile, undergone a radical transformation into a new dynamic agrarianism. The industrial revolution had enormously increased the demand for raw cotton; this demand the plantations could not meet. A principal problem in cotton cultivation was the separation of the seed from the fiber; this process was easy with sea-island cotton, but this species grew only along the coast. Whitney's invention of the cotton gin in 1793 removed this geographical limitation upon cotton culture. The gin could seed the short-fibered variety of cotton, and this could grow in the islands and uplands. This invention and the constantly increasing demand for cotton from the textile mills of Manchester and Lowell caused the expansion of cotton cultivation westward into the Mississippi Valley.

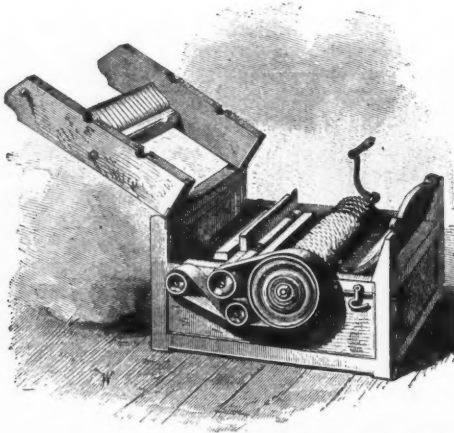
As the middle of the century approached, the industrial economy of the Northeast and the cotton agrarianism of the South locked horns. The North demanded tariffs for its industrial prosperity; the South refused to pay the tariff bills. The South wanted freedom to carry its cotton and slaves into the new territories; but the Northern in-

dustrialists knew full well that every new slave State meant two additional Senatorial votes against tariff protection. In this struggle Southern agrarianism fought a losing battle. Secession alone could prevent exploitation by Northern protective tariffs and could save slavery as an instrument of cotton culture.

The exigencies of the Civil War and the loss of Southern agrarian votes in Congress gave the industrialists a strangle-hold upon the National Government. They converted it into an instrument for their economic aggrandizement. For them Congress raised the tariff and centralized the banking system. Under the guise of protecting the Negro, the Fourteenth Amendment granted capitalism immunity from all State attacks upon property, and from State interference with the liberty to do business as one sees fit.

Agriculture, however, was not entirely silent. The Granger movement of the '70s was the vanguard of its coming offensive. The grievances of the farmer against the discriminating, exorbitant rate-charging railroad and the mortgage-holding capitalist, coupled with the distrust of the average citizen toward the stifling consolidation of industry and capital, were the munitions of the war upon business. The greenback and the free-silver movements manifested agrarian unrest. The farmers, being debtors, desired to repay their capitalistic creditors with easy money and less purchasing power. Big business, through its domination of the "party of Lincoln" and by waving the "bloody flag of rebellion," maintained control of the organs of government and withstood this attack. The nation, however, could not long turn a deaf ear to the combined demands of agriculture, labor and the middle class.

Under agrarian leadership, regulation became the order of the day. The interstate commerce act of 1887 and a half a dozen other important measures sought to end railroad abuses—arbitrary rates, pools, rebates, discrimination. Congress subjected big business to the Sherman anti-trust act, to a



Courtesy N. Y. Public Library

Whitney's cotton gin, patented in 1794, from the original model

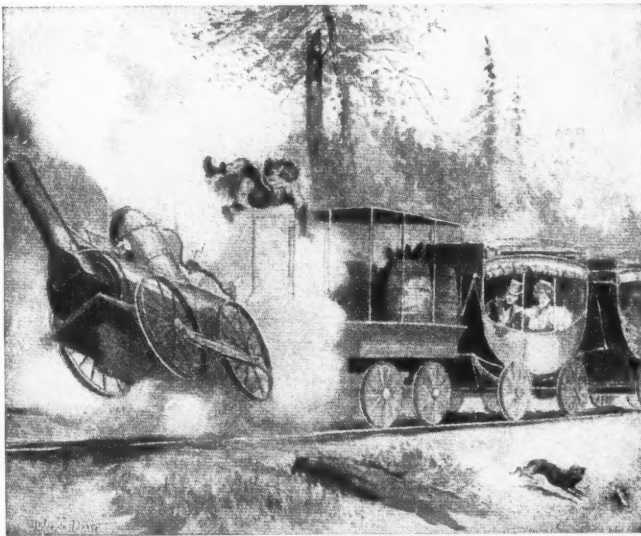


more stringent Clayton act and to a Federal Trade Commission with power to end commercial abuses. The income tax amendment partially shifted the burden of taxation from consumers to possessors of incomes and profits—or from agriculture and labor to industry. The Federal Farm Loan system cut the farmers' interest rate on their mortgages from 10 or 12 per cent to 5 or 6 per cent. Meanwhile, the activities of the Department of Agriculture, created in 1889, had gradually increased.

The coming of the World War, with its irresistible demand for government

fell, they could not decrease production proportionally without withdrawing land from cultivation. The results were overproduction, a serious drop in food prices, a fall in land values, and mortgage foreclosures. These are the seeds of the present farm revolt.

When we compare the agrarianism of today with the agrarianism of the early nineteenth century, we find a totally different farm attitude. The agrarian of 1800 believed in *laissez-faire*; the agrarian of today believes in governmental aid as a substitute for the "natural laws of economics." And when we



Courtesy N. Y. Public Library

Explosion of a pioneer steam locomotive, about 1829

cooperation with big business, stopped this onward march of agrarianism. The "return to normalcy" meant the return to industrial domination. Congress raised the tariff, and a lenient law department permitted indiscriminate consolidation of corporations. The rôle of the farmer, meanwhile, had become a bitter one. The exigencies of the war demanded an enormous expansion of agricultural production. Farmers could meet the need for foodstuffs only by expanding acreage; they had to buy and mortgage more land at war prices. When the demand for wheat and corn

compare the nature of these two agricultural systems, we readily discover the explanation. The farms of 1800 were, on the whole, isolated, self-sustaining communities consisting of economically independent individuals. With the exception of the Southern plantations, the essence of this old agricultural system was production for use rather than for exchange or profit. In the interval of a century, however, the entire essence of the agricultural system has changed. The introduction of machine production and of crop specialization has engineered a revolution

as vital and as real as that caused by the invention of the steam engine. Production now is not for use; it is for exchange and profit. The economic existence of the present-day agrarian depends upon distant markets and upon market-controlled prices. The farmer has already learned that government can aid him by teaching him scientific methods of production, by providing him with easy credit, by encouraging cooperative marketing, by cutting down the share of his profits taken by the railroads and distributing agencies. He

now believes that government can bolster his economic status by maintaining price levels.

But what of the future? Just as the present agrarian-capitalist conflict in politics was not born today, but possesses a history as old as our country's, just so is this not the final phase of the battle. In one form or another this clash will continue to vibrate throughout American history until that distant and hardly conceivable day arrives when industrial chimneys will dot the landscape of the entire country.



Courtesy N. Y. Public Library

The minute-man farmer of the Revolution

# *The Bolshevik Revolution in a New Phase*

By WILLIAM HENRY CHAMBERLIN

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IF ONE THINKS of the Bolshevik Revolution in terms of drama one might say that the third act has now been reached. The first act was represented by the period from the establishment of the Soviet Government in November, 1917, until the declaration of the New Economic Policy, or Nep, in March, 1921, a declaration which closely coincided with the end of foreign intervention and civil war. The second act was characterized by the gradual reconstruction of the country under the compromise between socialism and capitalism which was created by the Nep.

The third act of the revolution, which, beginning in 1928, has gained steadily in momentum up to the present time, represents a determined effort on the part of the ruling Communist party to cut the Gordian knot of social and economic contradictions, inherent in the Nep, by "tearing out the last roots of capitalism in Russia," to cite a phrase now much in vogue.

By far the most significant thing that is happening in Russia now is the agrarian revolution. If the absorption of individual homesteads into collective farms goes forward during the next two or three years as rapidly as it is proceeding at present, individual farming will have become little more than a memory and, moreover, the basic economic contradiction of the Soviet State will have been resolved, since the central planning organs which laid down programs for the State-controlled industries could never calculate with any certainty on how much grain and raw material the peasants would supply. The New Economic Policy had strengthened the position of the peasants as small proprietors by substitut-

ing regular taxation and freedom of internal trade for the wartime requisitions of all surplus produce. It was evident, therefore, that in the long run the ultimate character of the Soviet social order would depend on whether the Communists would succeed in fitting the peasants into the structure of the socialist state.

Although during the first few years of the Nep heavy taxation and the legal prohibition of the purchase and sale of land obstructed the development of a large class of well-to-do peasants, the collective farms which the Communists advocated found few recruits. This situation, however, began to change, at first slowly, after the Fifteenth Congress of the Communist party in December, 1927, when an "offensive against the capitalist elements in the village" was proclaimed. During 1929 the influx of the peasants into the collective farms advanced more and more rapidly and is now proceeding with still greater momentum. In the Spring of 1928 less than 2 per cent of the peasants were enrolled in the collective farms. The original five-year plan of Soviet national economic development called for the collectivization of 15 per cent of the peasant households by 1933, but the movement progressed so rapidly that now it is confidently calculated that 40 per cent of the peasants will have entered collective farms by the Spring of 1930.

The Communists contend that the sweeping success of the collective farm movement reflects the general conviction of the poor and middle-class peasantry that better results can be expected by pooling their resources in large farms where they may expect State aid in the form of credits for

tractors and other large machines. On the other hand, the kulaks, or relatively well-to-do peasants, who are threatened with economic extinction, insist that the peasants are driven into the collective farms against their will by an irresistible pressure on the part of the authorities. So far as the kulaks dare they carry on agitation among the peasants against the new method of farming, which they describe as a revival of martial law or serfdom. The truth probably is that economic persuasion and economic compulsion have both helped to promote the collectivization of the Russian countryside. The Soviet Government is infinitely better prepared to carry out its scheme of turning 26,000,000 homesteads into a much smaller number of collective farms than it was during the first period of the revolution, for it is now able to reinforce propaganda with powerful material arguments in the shape of tractors, large agricultural machines and fertilizer.

The second year of the collective campaign, according to Stalin's official announcement, amounts to 40 per cent, which is double the percentage predicted. It developed early in the year that the terrorist drive against peasants and kulaks was producing serious consequences. A proclamation was accordingly issued late in March, curbing the intensity of the drives, rebuking the overzealous, modifying in some respects the privileges of the peasants to retain their poultry and a cow and suspending some features of the tax. The result was an enthusiastic response, which indicated that the collective plans would be materially quickened.

The ultimate fate of this gigantic experiment in socializing the agriculture of a huge country and changing the lives, working habits and outlook of over 100,000,000 human beings depends on its economic feasibility, and on this question orthodox Communist opinion tolerates no doubts. Yet many factors are involved. Capable management of the new collective farms, for example, is a problem of the first importance. Few peasants possess the necessary

training and experience, and so 25,000 industrial workers, most of them picked Communists, are hastily being put through courses in farm management and are being distributed among the collective farms for the purpose of occupying leading posts.

Another question is, What work will be found for the peasants who will inevitably be displaced if the large-scale mechanization of agriculture proceeds? This problem is likely to become especially acute, because the shift from primitive forms of hand labor to the most advanced types of machinery is being projected and carried out at such a terrific rate of speed. The State farms, which are distinguished from the collective farms by the fact that they are established entirely by State resources on previously unused land, are expected within three or four years to cultivate 30,000,000 acres of arable land with 120,000 farm laborers. Using the same ratio 1,200,000 workers would suffice for the cultivation of approximately the whole of the present planted area, which supports 26,000,000 peasant households, with over 100,000,000 persons.

The tasks which have been outlined for industry in the near future are positively grandiose in conception. The original five-year plan of national economic development, covering the period from 1928 until 1933, was generally considered difficult of achievement, calling as it did for an increase of industrial production by more than two and a half times during this period. But this original plan has now been modified in many respects, not in the direction of contraction but of enlargement. Soviet economic leaders now call for the accomplishment of the five-year plan in four years, and the figures of output required by 1933 have in some cases been increased by 50 per cent or more. During the Soviet economic year from Oct. 1, 1929, until Oct. 1, 1930, industrial output is supposed to increase by 32 per cent while costs of production are to be lowered by 11 per cent and wages to rise by 9 per cent. This program might be



summarily dismissed as impracticable if it were not for the additional item that productivity of labor must rise by 25 per cent.

The most striking of the measures put into effect to accomplish these plans is the so-called continuous working week, under which factories and offices function 360 days a year (five big revolutionary holidays being observed) and the workers receive one day of rest in every five.

While the machines are being exploited to the utmost under this system, the workers are straining every nerve to increase production by "socialist competition." Factories and departments in the same factory sign contracts with one another with definite pledges as to how much output will be raised, what costs will be reduced and what technical improvements will be effected. The carrying out of this "socialist competition" is entrusted to a "shock brigade," which now exists in every factory and which is recruited from the workers who are the most enthusiastic champions of Communist ideas. These brigades function as pace-makers for the other workers, constantly endeavoring to establish new records in production.

The Soviet program of sweeping and rapid industrialization inevitably calls for great sacrifices on the part of the population, especially as neither loans nor large investments of capital from abroad are available. It is by no means a coincidence that 1929, the first year of the five-year plan and of the large-scale reconstruction of agriculture, was also the first year since the New Economic Policy when shortage of food necessitated the rationed sale of many important products. Beginning with bread, the State and cooperative stores extended the list until by the end of the year meat, eggs, butter, sugar, tea,



—Izvestia, Moscow

#### SEVEN COMPLAINTS—ONE ANSWER

"The five-year program in four years," is the answer given by the Soviet to John Bull, the German Fascists, Trotsky, the Pope, China, France and Poland

rice, macaroni and other articles were rationed. Most of these products could also be bought on the private market, but at prices beyond the reach of the average Russian family. While the allowances of bread were ample, the quantities of butter, sugar, tea and eggs which might be bought at State and cooperative prices were very meager.

This food shortage was due in large part to two causes, both intimately related to the Soviet program of industrial and agrarian reconstruction. The collective farms, except possibly in grain, have not as yet covered the shortage of food products which may be attributed to the systematic reduction of production by the ruined kulaks. Then, under the Soviet foreign trade policy, dairy products and sugar, despite the internal shortage, were exported on the ground that the country's needs in foreign machinery, equipment

and raw material must be placed ahead of the comfort of the people.

Subscriptions to the State loans, almost compulsory for workers and employes in State service, represent another form in which the population is meeting the bill imposed by the five-year plan. Still other deprivations, which may be attributed to the same cause, are the high price level of manufactured goods, due in part to the fact that such economies as may be achieved in production costs are not as a rule passed on to the consumer, but are devoted to expanding the investment funds of the industries, and the chronic acute shortage of many articles of broad consumption, which in other countries would be regarded not as

luxuries but as comforts or even necessities. This in turn is due to the self-denying ordinance under which imports are almost entirely earmarked for the needs of industry.

In their efforts to transform a predominantly agricultural country into a highly mechanized industrialized state at record speed and without external assistance, the fierce innovating energy of the Communist party and the State machine spares neither people nor institutions that may stand in the way. The most conservative of all human inventions, the calendar, has been smashed by the introduction of the continuous working week; the new calendars which are being printed are on the basis of the five-day week. Such a fundamental change as the Latinization of the Russian alphabet is apparently on the verge of being undertaken, following the general introduction of the Latin characters in the Eastern republics of the Soviet Union.

Purges have never been so numerous and so ruthless. They take place everywhere, in the party, in the government offices, on the collective farms, in the universities. As a rule they are directed against members of the former Russian aristocratic and propertied classes who escaped the first storm of revolution and up to the present time maintained themselves in the safe obscurity of minor government posts. Only in an old-fashioned feudal society does birth count for so much as in the Soviet Union, but with the discriminations reversed. Nothing is so perilous for the holder of a State post who must pass through a purge as proof that he is the son or grandson of an aristocrat or a capitalist, while working-class origin sometimes covers a multitude of sins. However, even Communists of long standing are not spared in the frequent changes of persons occupying responsible posts.

The psychology of making a clean break with the Russian past is a very important characteristic of the Soviet régime. It helps to explain in part the war on religion, which during 1929 greatly extended its scope and adopted



#### SOVIET RUSSIA

"How did you manage to buy butter?"  
"From an antique dealer"

methods which had previously been considered inadvisable, such as huge parades, holding up to mockery the objects of reverence of various faiths, public burning of ikons, and so forth. To these measures there have been added during the past year the melting down of church bells and the turning of copper and bronze to industrial uses, the inauguration of systematic anti-religious teaching in the schools, the extended and intensified use of the theatre, the motion picture and the museum as media for anti-religious propaganda (one ingenious Moscow theatre even imparted an anti-religious tone to its production of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*) and the

passing of a law forbidding itinerant missionary activities and the holding of services outside recognized church buildings and prohibiting benevolent and educational activities of religious bodies, leaving them a bare freedom of worship. The position of priests and ministers of religion has been made much more difficult because, like other members of the disfranchised classes, they may not buy food at the controlled prices nor live in municipalized houses, as most houses in Russian cities are. In these circumstances it is not surprising that many priests renounce their calling, while some are reduced to beggary.

Standards of intellectual conformity are much more rigid than they were before this third act of the revolution began. Thus, the Writers' Union recently declared ineligible for membership all authors who do not actively participate in socialist construction. Whereas last season three plays by a young Russian author, Mikhail Bulgakov, whose outlook was obviously far removed from that of communism, were permitted on the Moscow stage, now all his plays have been banished completely. Even two works which were offered with the best of revolutionary intentions were whisked off the



--The New York Times

It's no use, he won't dance to that tune

boards almost as soon as they were produced because some flaws were found in their ideological content. The same tendency to make Marxism and "class content" basic criteria in the cultural field is to be seen in literature. Boris Pilniak, one of the well-known younger Soviet writers, drew down upon his head a storm of condemnation when he published abroad a story which had been rejected in Russia on the ground that it depicted too sympathetically the sentiments of the kulaks. Similarly in education, A. Vishinsky, a high official, recently held up to reprobation certain professors who had uttered such sentiments as "Science is objective," "Newton discovered his laws without Marxism," "Botanists will get on without Marxism." To abstain from criticism of the Soviet system or to stand aloof from political questions is no longer regarded as satisfactory on the part of the non-party intellectual or specialist. He is expected to share actively in building up the new socialist society. Today the typical revolutionary mood of "whoever is not with us is against us" is dominant, and nothing which stands in the way of the Communist goal is tolerated.

World revolution remains an integral article of the Russian Communist faith, and in the atmosphere of fierce revolutionary ardor which has been generated this belief tends to grow stronger. The privations and difficulties through which Russia is passing make it natural that the Soviet press should, to put it mildly, emphasize the economic misfortunes of capitalist nations. The recent decline of stock prices in Wall Street, for instance, has been generally interpreted by Soviet economists as the beginning of a tremendous industrial depression which will spread from the United States to other countries. At the same time there are commercial factors tending toward greater contact. Already a number of technical aid agreements between the Soviet State industries and foreign firms are in operation. Under these contracts the foreign firms supply plans and expert advice for the building of new Soviet industrial plants. Hundreds of foreign specialists, engineers and mechanics are at work teaching the Russians new industrial processes. While Soviet foreign trade has grown very slowly during the last few years a very marked expansion in this field is planned, beginning with 1930. If the scheme is carried out new and stronger commercial ties between Russia and the capitalist world will be formed. If all the present plans of industrial and agricultural development are carried to a successful conclusion, the industrial and the potential military power of the Soviet Union will exceed that of Czarist Russia, which was always reckoned as one of the great powers.

Such significant changes as Russia has witnessed in the last year or two could not have originated spontaneously, but only under an iron-willed leadership; and it is no accident that they coincided with the rise of Joseph Stalin as the recognized and undisputed chief of the Communist party. Since Lenin's death he has held no State office, but in his strategic post as general secretary of the Party Central Committee

has established himself as the strongest individual figure in the Communist councils. The impressive demonstration which was organized on Stalin's fiftieth birthday in December, 1929, when leading figures and organizations in the Communist movement in Russia and abroad joined in personal tributes to him, symbolized a certain change in his status. On this occasion he may be said to have stepped from the background where he had previously preferred to work into the full sunlight of homage and admiration. War Commissar Voroshilov hailed him as the genius of the civil war; Kuibishev, chief of the Soviet State industries, attributed to Stalin every important decision on matters of the economic reconstruction; Manuilsky, from the Communist International, declared that Stalin participated most intimately in formulating its decisions.

Stalin's authority in the Communist party is now more unquestioned than was that of Lenin in the first years of the revolution. Of the members of the Political Bureau, or steering committee of the Communist party, as it was constituted after Lenin's death all have quarreled with Stalin and all have been politically broken and compelled to recant. Only Trotsky proved intractable, and he was banished from the country altogether. Curiously enough, Trotsky, Zinoviev and Kamenev fell because during 1926 and 1927 they advocated an agrarian policy based upon the ruthless expropriation of the kulak and a forced tempo of agricultural collectivization, while Stalin's other three political opponents, Rykov, Bukharin and Tomskey, went down because during 1928 and 1929 they lifted their voices in vain against the speed and ruthlessness with which the individual peasant was being pushed out to make room for the collective farm. Stalin defends himself against the charge of inconsistency by contending that the revolutionary agrarian policy which is correct and practicable now would not have been feasible at an earlier period.

Moscow, January, 1930.



# *An Inside View of Revolutions in Haiti*

By JOHN H. ALLEN

FORMER MANAGER OF THE BANQUE NATIONALE DE LA REPUBLIQUE D'HAITI

IN 1912 William Jennings Bryan, who was then Secretary of State, invited me to Washington to "tell him all about Haiti." I had reached New York after a year's stay in Haiti as manager of the National Bank. Under the contract then existing between the government and the bank, the position of manager was quasi-official. Haiti was getting on its feet after the revolution led by Cincinnatus Leconte, who, at its successful conclusion, was elected President. When I arrived at his office Mr. Bryan said: "Mr. Allen, I want you to tell me everything there is about Haiti; we are very much interested in Haiti. Tell me about the country and who the people are; anyway, where is Haiti?" I described its geographical position, briefly outlining its history, stating that they were mostly descendants of African slaves, with a leaning toward French ideas and customs, and that French was the language spoken. Mr. Bryan exclaimed: "Dear me, think of it! Niggers speaking French."

My interview with Mr. Bryan lasted about two hours. Upon my return a few hours later, he handed me a telegram and said: "You see, during your absence we have been making history in Haiti." The message was from the legation in Port au Prince, stating that the palace had been blown up and approximately 400 Haitians had been killed, including the President.

Within a space of seventy-five or a hundred years no more governmental changes have taken place in Haiti than have taken place in other Latin-American and also European countries. The fact is unduly emphasized perhaps by the frequent changes that took place during the years 1905 to 1916, but dur-

ing all this time there were certain developments and progress taking place.

Haiti, in the Fall of 1911, was just emerging from the chaos resulting from the Leconte revolution which had overthrown the Simon Administration, an administration so corrupt and inefficient as to result in a revolutionary movement of a somewhat different nature from that of the ordinary Haitian revolutions of the old days, in that there were probably more representative people interested and the movement was not wholly for selfish interests. Graft had become excessive, concessions of all kinds had been granted to favorites, and serious inroads made in the national funds. For these and other reasons more or less equally good the Leconte revolution came through to a successful finish. In itself, the act of diverting public funds to private ownership did not bring on this or any other revolution, for that seemed to be the custom of the country.

Conditions were thoroughly unsettled, the political upheaval had brought a large number of country people to the town, there was little employment and every one was waiting for matters to adjust themselves. Frequently shots were heard in the distance early in the morning from firing parties which had taken political prisoners off to the cemetery, as was the custom in those days. Sometimes, before a political prisoner was executed, he would be allowed to walk around the town, surrounded by a small band of gendarmes, and given the opportunity to pass in front of the homes of friends and exchange salutations or make an occasional speech. One observing these scenes might well have received the impression that the

chief actor in the drama experienced considerable satisfaction as a result of the attention bestowed upon him.

Port au Prince, since the occupation, has been greatly improved. Sidewalks, which were previously non-existent, have been built and the town modernized. In the old days the wide gutters were full of water in the rainy season, and often a peasant could be seen sitting beside the gutter washing his face and hands, brushing his teeth and rinsing his mouth with the same water. No matter how poor and destitute they may be they are characteristically personally clean. Water and sunshine, equally abundant and equally essential, kept the individuals and the cities free from plague and pestilence.

The school system was equally primitive. Not only the capital but the other cities contained many schools, such as they were. Any one with influence could obtain authority to open a school, would receive compensation from the government for partial use of their houses as school rooms, and a small stipend as teacher. There were some fairly well organized public schools and one or two lycées which provided excellent higher education. Aside from the lycées, the best schools were those maintained by the priests of the Catholic Church, who had a large seminary at Port au Prince and schools in all the towns and villages. Convents also furnished education for the girls and young women. The Church has had an enormous influence in the life of Haiti, and through all the years of tribulation, unrest, disturbances, ignorance and destitution the Catholic Church undoubtedly saved whatever civilization there was and kept the French language in existence.

To use the term "revolution" in connection with past uprisings in Haiti is to create a wrong impression, for, with the probable exception of the movement which resulted in their independence of France in 1804, these affairs were more like strikes, as we know them, than popular uprisings. There never was, with one or two exceptions, a public uprising in Haiti. The "army"

or mob that backed a leader was never large, hired for the event, and went back home afterward to await another call. These were not patriotic affairs, but merely the attempts of a group of "outs" to have a hand in the disbursement of the national funds and in the handing out of patronage. Not all of these movements succeeded, but as a general rule those starting in the north came through to a successful finish, chiefly for the reason that in a section of the north there were many thousands of country people of an unusually troublesome disposition who were commonly referred to as "Cacos," whose leaders were always ready to get them together to do the fighting and create the noise of their so-called revolutions.

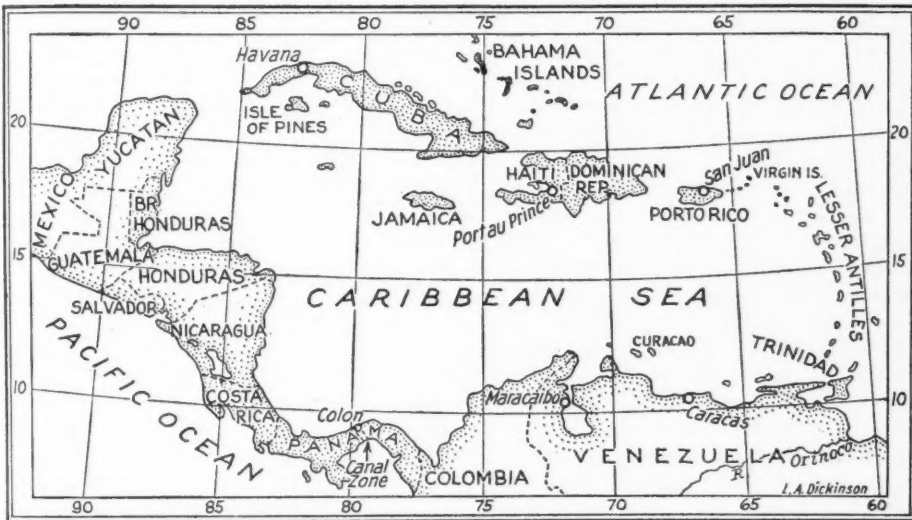
Changes in office sometimes were results of coup d'état rather than revolutionary. One such occurred in 1913, following the death of President Tancrede Auguste. The death of a President, to the majority of the inhabitants meant the death of the government and the disappearance of authority. The gap between the death of a President and the assuming of office by his successor was quickly taken advantage of by the lawless element. For this reason a committee of safety, generally self-appointed, would promptly be constituted and assume control of the capital until the new President took office.

It is customary in Haiti to bury the deceased promptly, and the funeral of President Auguste was arranged for the following day. The funeral cortège arrived at the cathedral, the casket was placed in the lower end of the church, the *Te Deum* sung, and, after an hour and a half of services, the Archbishop, accompanied by his officiating clergymen and altar boys, proceeded down the aisle to bless the remains. They had reached about midway when a low murmur peculiar to the people of the country took place, immediately followed by a whistle of the same character. In less time than it takes to tell, the cathedral was in an uproar; simultaneously with this development came the firing of guns from the quickly assembled insti-

gators who had ranged themselves on both sides of the cathedral, pouring their fire into the building, but with few casualties, so that it was noise and apprehension rather than bullets that caused the panic. Pandemonium broke loose. No one could run for safety, because there was no chance to run. Every bit of ground in the cathedral was occupied. Neither would those near the doors go out for fear of being shot as they emerged. As many of the people as could tried to get close to the Archbishop and the other clergy, feel-

noise than bloodshed; although loss of life was rarely heavy, property damage was invariably substantial.

When a revolutionary movement was reaching a successful conclusion, the last days of the outgoing administration were full of interest. The finish of the Oreste Administration may be taken as typical. The Zamor revolutionary army had been working its way toward Port au Prince over a period of three months, going from village to village, first reaching Cape Haiti, then Gonaives and Saint Marc, adding to



The Caribbean Sea, showing Haiti among the other islands

ing that the nearer they were to them the safer they would be. In this attempt to get close the vestments and clothes of the clergy were almost torn away. While this was taking place inside the cathedral, a detachment of loyal troops had been gathered under the direction of the Minister of the Interior, Dr. Pradel, and restored order in the vicinity of the cathedral. The fighting continued through the afternoon, but toward sunset everything was quiet, and soon thereafter the Deputies convened and elected Michel Oreste as President. The purpose of relating this incident is to show that the revolutions or coup d'états were not very serious affairs and were carried on more by

their numbers as they went. The march from Saint Marc to Port au Prince was the last leg of the journey and covered a period of several days. Reports reached the capital every hour or two of the progress that the army was making. There was no resistance; the government troops, as the revolutionary forces advanced, would retreat, making no attempt to stand. Finally word reached Port au Prince that the army was a short distance outside of the city gates and had demanded the evacuation of the capital by the administration and would wait until the following day for the acceptance or refusal of the demand. It was customary to give the outgoing President sufficient time

to take refuge in a foreign legation or upon a vessel, the incoming leader knowing full well that it would be only a question of time before he would be leaving under similar circumstances.

The day before word was received that Zamor was at the gates of Port au Prince, Oreste told me that he felt confident of a successful issue. There was a small dinner party that night of a few of his more intimate friends, and it was made more than usually interesting by the tenseness of the situation and the fact that the Presidential guard was posted around the grounds and lined around the dining room. When dinner was about half over, one of his aides brought in word that the Zamor band was rapidly approaching Port au Prince, and, although the President showed some slight agitation upon reading the message, after dinner he reaffirmed to me his belief that the army would remain loyal and prevent the entrance of Zamor into the capital. However, developments adverse to the administration came quickly, and the following morning the President decided to give up and seek refuge on a vessel at anchor in the harbor.

When the time came for the President to leave the palace, he did so surrounded by the Presidential guard, whose duty it was to protect the outgoing President and to offer equal protection to the incoming one. The German Minister was in the carriage beside him and they rode slowly down to the city along streets lined with the multitude. About half way to the wharf a group of Haitians jeered the President, who jumped into the street and made a rush for them, but he was quickly surrounded by the guard, who practically lifted him back into the carriage, and between the Presidential guard and the German Minister he was safely put upon a cutter of the German warship. In the middle of the afternoon Zamor and his cohorts trailed into the city, across the Champ de Mars and took up their station in front of the palace. I went to the main avenue to see them enter, and a more nondescript collection could hardly be imagined. Za-

mor rode on a small native horse, with a number of bedraggled soldiers in tattered clothes, mostly without uniforms, strung behind, some with guns, some with swords, others with pistols, and several hundred trailers, men and women, and the usual accompaniment of burros, dogs and roosters. It was not an army, it was simply a collection of mongrels.

That evening I was summoned to the palace by General Zamor, who, in the presence of his Cabinet, thus addressed me: "Mr. Allen, I asked you to come here tonight because I want your advice. Eight of my men have been arrested for pillaging, and you know that in a revolutionary army if a man steals he is shot. What do you think I should do?" I said: "Well, General, ever since I have been in Haiti I have refrained from taking any part whatever in political affairs and cannot give you advice except to say that I think if you kill eight men for a little stealing it might be regarded as a wholesale execution." He thanked me and said the reason he did not want to shoot the men was that four of them were his friends. The point to bear in mind is that there were few white people in Haiti and Zamor wished to be able to justify himself by saying that the whites had approved of his action in releasing the men. Zamor was duly elected, and in turn was thrown out of office some months later, meeting his death in what was known as the "jail massacre," where 150 political prisoners were wantonly killed.

Immediately afterward, because of the danger believed to exist to the foreign population, troops were landed from our warships and the occupation of Haiti commenced.

During all the revolutions in Haiti no foreigner was ever killed. When foreign property was damaged the owners were compensated. Haiti has been victimized time and again by foreign merchants, foreign capitalists and foreign governments. Had it not been for foreigners it is doubtful if a large majority of the revolutions would have occurred. The revolutionary movements



were financed by foreigners, who, when approached by a leader of an incipient movement, would agree to lend funds and would buy so-called "revolutionary bonds" at perhaps 10 cents on the dollar, with the understanding that if the revolution was brought to a successful conclusion the bonds would be redeemed. They were not always liquidated at par, but they were paid at a figure which yielded a handsome profit to the holders. When one studies the history of Haiti, the revolutions and the participation of foreigners in its affairs that can properly be classified only as theft, the wonder is that the Haitians are as good as they are. Haiti has been forced to pay often what she should never have paid. Moreover, foreign governments have intervened to protect their nationals when there should have been no intervention.

A case of this character is that of the National Railroad of Haiti, which the Haitians claim they were forced to accept from the concessionaires by our State Department, in spite of the fact that the government claimed the terms of the contract had not been observed and notwithstanding a clause in the concession stipulating that no recourse to diplomatic intervention should take place if any question should arise between the government and the concessionaires. Disregarding this provision, Haiti was compelled to accept an almost worthless acquisition at a price running into millions and with a continuing liability.

Haiti is one country where a railroad is not a necessity. Owing to the nature of the country all that is needed are highways to permit the peasants to bring their produce to the ports and to provide communication between the towns and villages. Road building has been one of the most important parts of the program of the occupation, and many miles of well-constructed roads have been built.

One complaint of the Haitians is that the occupation has done little to develop agriculture, encourage industry or improve educational facilities; in-

dustry has been hampered by taxation.

While it is true that the national finances as a result of the occupation are in excellent condition, it is equally true that the poverty existing is extreme. The improvement in the national finances has been brought about not by revenues from increased exports but from increases in rates of duties on imports and exports, as well as internal taxation derived from products of the country and income tax, all of which have resulted in taxation which has become a burden. The occupation points with pride to the provisions made for the payment of interest and amortization requirements and to the reduction in the country's indebtedness, but it is a question whether it is as wise for Haiti to attempt to retire its indebtedness ahead of time as to provide for current interest and amortization and to use the surplus for agricultural and other development, thus reducing the national income through a reduction in the tariff and through an elimination of internal taxation—at all events, on industry and agriculture. Haiti's total exports at the present time are less than they were prior to the American occupation. If the dollar figures in some cases show an increase, that is because of an increase in prices. There is no increase in the quantity of the production. Haiti produces a coffee which is one of the finest grown, and the trees, with cultivation and proper handling, could be made to produce far more. Efforts have been made along these lines, and the work of the Agricultural Department has been severely criticized and unfavorably commented upon because little result can be noted.

The outstanding reasons for the unrest and resentment over our handling of the situation are:

Unwarranted assumption of authority.

Over-emphasis of the military.

Complete lack of cooperation with the ruling families.

Preventing elections and the convening of Congress.

# Growth of the Anti-Evolution Movement

By MAYNARD SHIPLEY

PRESIDENT, SCIENCE LEAGUE OF AMERICA

THE TEACHING of evolutionary principles, so far at least as man and his institutions are concerned, has been quietly abolished throughout the greater part of the United States. The proponents of Babylonian - Chaldean - Hebrew mythology have made great progress during the past few years. Nothing can be taught in 70 per cent of the secular schools of this Republic today not sanctioned by the hosts of Fundamentalism. Even in some of the more advanced eastern and western States the free discussion of man's origin and evolution along with his *mores*, is taboo, except in the larger cities.

During the years 1921-29, inclusive, there were thirty-seven anti-evolution bills or legislative resolutions before no fewer than twenty State Legislatures, including one initiative measure. During 1928-29 only three such bills were presented. It is but natural that the general public should assume that "the fight is over, and science has won."

Nothing could be further from the truth. The Fundamentalists have merely changed their tactics. As one of their leaders has worded it, "We were too precipitate; we must go directly to the people themselves and not depend on the legislators." Primarily, they are concentrating today on the emasculation of textbooks, the "purging" of libraries, and above all the continued hounding of teachers.

Very bitter and active campaigns against the teaching of evolution were conducted in Texas and Oklahoma. While no legislative enactments followed, so much anti-evolution feeling was created that the textbooks are be-

ing altered to meet the views of the Fundamentalists. The law has been again evoked in Tennessee, and in Pennsylvania 200 citizens banded together to ban the teaching of evolution at West Pottsgrove High School, and a near riot ensued.

Many evangelists all over the country are still active in anti-evolution propaganda. One of these, as a typical example, addressed 1,200 persons in the First Presbyterian Church of Seattle, Wash., in July, 1929. He was the Rev. Dr. A. C. Gaebelein. In the course of his speech he said:

College professors who teach the Darwinian [or, of course, any other] theory of evolution are more dangerous than bootleggers. The greatest menace in America today is not the bootlegger, but the college professor who teaches young men and women that the Bible is not true.

The theory of the evolutionists is being exploded month by month as new discoveries by the scientists themselves prove that the Bible is true.

Asked in a later interview to elucidate this last assertion, Dr. Gaebelein delivered himself of the following:

Take the latest archaeological discoveries, the ruins of ancient cities dug up. The further back you go the more magnificent the ruins. It proves there have been great civilizations thousands of years ago. Now if man came from monkeys, it would be the other way.

Apparently dissatisfied with the slow progress being made by certain anti-evolution groups, and determined that the teaching of this "anti-Christian" doctrine shall be banned by the Legislatures of the United States, on Jan. 24, 1929, the Chicago evangelist, the Rev. Mr. Paul Rader, one-time prize-fighter, and now international president

of the World-Wide Christian Couriers, announced that a vigorous campaign "against the teaching of evolution" would presently be inaugurated throughout the country. A new organization, "Defenders of the Christian Faith," had been formed to fight evolution, a doctrine which Mr. Rader described in a later pronunciamento as "the salad dressing of science and a bad that will pass as the minds of scientists grow."

A national seven-day convention of the Defenders was called, to meet in Indianapolis in February. The convention, Rader stated, would organize separate groups to carry the Fundamental campaign against evolution and modernism into every State of the Union. In this connection he said:

We want to establish forty-eight nerve centres for the suppression of pernicious teachings that are undermining the very moral fiber of our youth. The Bible, as the infallible word of God, is being crucified on the cross of culture and neo-culture and nailed in place with the nails of taboo.

As a matter of fact, no pupil anywhere is coerced into accepting evolution. It is required only that he or she be able to re-state, in examination papers, part of the evidences presented by the teacher. No personal concurrence is exacted, and the pupil is free to believe whatever his other determining influences in the home or church may incline him to. But the Fundamentalists says: "No, we don't want any so-called science presented which contradicts the first and second chapters of Genesis"—their religious dogmas thus being set up as a bar to freedom of teaching in our legally secular schools.

As an evidence of what this attitude has already brought about in the United States, the following authentic tabulation will prove a revelation to students of current social history:

#### ANTI-EVOLUTION BILLS, RESOLUTIONS AND RIDERS.

##### KENTUCKY

1921—Defeated in lower house by a vote of 42 to 41.

1926—Adversely reported by Committee on Education.

1928—Brought forward too late in the session for discussion and action.

##### GEORGIA

1923—Approved by Committee on Education by vote of 13 to 0, but never submitted to either House or Senate.

1925—Amendment to General Appropriation bill; voted down overwhelmingly, the "noes" drowning out the "ayes."

##### FLORIDA

1923—Joint resolution passed condemning teaching of evolution in tax-supported schools.

1925—Drastic anti-evolution bill approved by House Committee on Education. No report on vote—if one was ever taken. Never reached the Senate.

1927—Bill passed in House but "indefinitely postponed" by Senate.

##### ALABAMA

1923—Defeated in both houses by "a comfortable but not overwhelming" majority.

1927—Informal poll of the House showed that 80 out of 105 members were opposed to the bill, which thereupon died in committee.

##### TEXAS

1923—Passed in lower house, 71 to 34; was favorably reported in Senate, but "died on the calendar."

1925—Favorably reported by committee of the House, but got no further.

1929—Bill was referred to Committee on Criminal Jurisprudence and killed in secret session by a vote of 8 to 3. Resolution passed later in House by vote of 59 to 42, 49 not voting.

##### NORTH CAROLINA

1925—Defeated in House, 64 to 47.

1927—Reported adversely by committee, 25 to 11.

##### TENNESSEE

1925—Bill passed, in House 71 to 5, in Senate 24 to 6.

##### MISSISSIPPI

1926—Bill passed, in House 76 to 32, in Senate 29 to 16.

##### LOUISIANA

1926—Bill passed in House, 52 to 43, indefinitely postponed in Senate.

##### MISSOURI

1927—Defeated in House, 82 to 62.

##### OKLAHOMA

1923—Amendment to textbook bill; passed in House 87 to 2; Senate 16 to 12. Repealed in 1926.

1927—Killed in House, 46 to 30.

1929—Resolution defeated in House.

**WEST VIRGINIA**

- 1923—Defeated "by popular vote."  
 1925—Unfavorably reported by Committee on Education. Amended and advanced to third reading, before which Legislature adjourned. (Senate bill never reported out by Committee on Education.)  
 1927—Resolution defeated by lower house, 57 to 36, for avowed purpose of making way for bill, which was defeated.

**SOUTH CAROLINA**

- 1921—Rider on Senate General Appropriation bill, passed without opposition, but was stricken out of bill by joint committee.

**ARKANSAS**

- 1927—Passed lower house, 50 to 47; tabled by Senate.  
 1928—First anti-evolution initiative measure in history passed by vote of 108,000 for, 63,000 against—45,000 majority.

**MAINE**

- 1927—Defeated in lower house.

**CALIFORNIA, MINNESOTA, NORTH DAKOTA, DELAWARE, NEW HAMPSHIRE**

- 1927—Bills all killed in committee.

From the foregoing compilation it is seen that during the period 1921-29, inclusive, thirty-seven anti-evolution bills, resolutions or riders were introduced, including one initiative measure. In three States the teaching of evolution is now abolished by law, while two Legislatures passed resolutions against such instruction. In addition, many local school boards (e. g., Atlanta, Ga.) have passed anti-evolution rulings, while one textbook commission specifically bars textbooks teaching evolution and several others do so unofficially.

Strong pressure has been brought by Fundamentalists on publishers and authors of textbooks. As a result in many States only those textbooks are used which have been written in con-

formity with Fundamentalist belief. Many publishers have instructed their authors to omit all discussion of evolution, or even to omit the word altogether. In Texas, and a number of other States, the term "development" has been substituted for the word "evolution," with the latter's implications of transmutation of plants and animals from lower to higher species, and at least the suggestion that the laws or processes of nature include proud man in their scope. To meet this situation, some publishers of school texts are putting out two editions, one for the regions where Fundamentalists are in control, the other for more intellectually matured communities. As one author put it:

There are to be found in the Southern States and certain parts of the Middle West whole populations a generation behind those one finds in our large cities and in Europe. Is it better that the children in the backwoods have no books at all? To me it was a problem of taking the world as one finds it, which most of us must do if we want to play with it at all.

In reviewing two new biology texts for use in tax-supported schools, *The Quarterly Review of Biology* (September, 1929), says:

These texts have, we assume, the approval, if not the explicit *imprimatur* of Dr. Clarence True Wilson, [the late] Dr. John Roach Straton and Bishop James Cannon. \* \* \* They have clearly been written with the statutes of Tennessee [Mississippi] and Arkansas in mind, as well as the clip sheet of the Methodist Board of Temperance, Prohibition and Public Morals. The word "evolution" has been carefully omitted from the index, and we have not found anything in the books which a Baptist Sunday School teacher could not reconcile with Genesis.



# *German and Polish Conflicting Interests*

By MARY E. TOWNSEND

ASSISTANT PROFESSOR, TEACHERS COLLEGE, COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

ONE OF THE most serious "sore spots" left by the Treaty of Versailles was Danzig and the Polish corridor. The diplomats who redrew the maps in Paris found the adjustment of German and Polish nationalist claims and economic needs baffling in the extreme. How has the settlement worked after a ten-year trial? A recent visit to the district reveals friction between Pole and German especially acute at three points—the ports, the Vistula River and East Prussia.

The Port of the Free State of Danzig, detached from the old Germany to provide the new Poland with an outlet to the sea, finds itself today literally under five governments—its own Senate; the Polish Republic, which controls foreign affairs, transit and customs; the harbor board, operating the port with an equal German-Polish membership; a High Commissioner appointed by the League of Nations, and the Council of the League itself.

Between 1920 and 1926 alone, forty-nine decisions were handed down by the High Commissioner who arbitrates differences. The citation of only three will illustrate the strife for political power—the railway quarrel which ended in dividing the ownership of the standard-gauge roads between Poland and the harbor board and giving the narrow-gauge lines and tram-lines to Danzig; the bitter post-box controversy, resulting in a semi-victory for the Danzigers, and the conflict over the Polish munitions base established on the Westerplatte in the Harbor of Danzig.

When the Free State was created the population was estimated at 308,000 Germans and 16,000 Poles. Immedi-

ately, the Poles initiated an intensive Polonization. But this policy failed, and it seems fairly certain that Danzig will remain a German city, for today the inhabitants are 95 per cent German. The Poles contend with truth that the port is still actually part of the German Reich; that even the political parties are but branches of the great German parties, and that Germany is using Danzig as a base of propaganda for treaty revision.

Before the war Danzig, completely surrounded by German territory, was the metropolis for a fertile, agricultural hinterland, providing her with rich markets and agrarian products which in turn found a ready sale in Germany. Suddenly torn from her financial, commercial, industrial ties with Berlin and the Fatherland, Danzig had to adjust herself to a new customs union controlled from Warsaw. Her trade has been dislocated or lost, her commercial connections cut. She suffers from the difficulties of two currencies—the Danzig gulden on a gold basis and the Polish zloty, not so stable, but also legal tender and compulsory on trains running into Poland. Moreover, as a result of the tariff war between Poland and Germany begun in 1925, Poland placed prohibitory duties on Danzig's products and Germany stopped Poland's importation of coal from Upper Silesia, zinc, naphtha and other commodities. All negotiations for a commercial treaty failed until March 17, 1930, when a Polish-German trade agreement was signed.

To Danzig's complaints of economic depression, the Poles retort that the port is more prosperous than it was under Germany and they cite the fig-

ures which show an increase in her turnover of 2,370,000 tons imports and exports in 1924; 5,300,000 tons in 1926; 8,500,000 tons in 1928. In 1913 Danzig's imports and exports under Germany reached barely 2,000,000 tons. The Danzigers reply that the increase was due to a temporary stimulation provided by the British coal strike which threw the Scandinavian markets into Polish hands; and that the figures refer to transit trade which in no way helps local trade and industry.

The strongest evidence that economic peace does not prevail is the building by the Poles of the new port of Gdynia, twelve miles west of Danzig on the Baltic coast. Eight years ago a small fishing village of 300 inhabitants, today it is a port with 25,000 inhabitants. It is not situated at the mouth of a river and lies inside the Hela Peninsula, protected from the sea; is ice-free and has both an inner and an outer harbor. Most important of all, Gdynia is located within the Corridor and is wholly Polish, a living expression of Polish nationalism. It is already a modern city in its buildings and equipment, with increasing port facilities and every promise of becoming a commercial and industrial centre, not to speak of the beginnings of a seaside resort.

In 1923 the first foreign ship entered the port of Gdynia; today, there are already four regular steamship lines, although most of the shipping is transient. The tonnage passing through the port has risen from 90,000 tons in 1924 to 896,000 tons in 1927, and almost 3,000,000 was expected in 1929. The second section of the harbor when completed is designed to handle 15,000,000 tons a year.

This "miracle city" has not been achieved without enormous effort and vast capital expenditure by foreign investors. The obstacles have been as great as the results are impressive. Gdynia is not on a railway, but the Poles are building a direct line through the Corridor from Bromberg to Gdynia. It will scale the high, Cashubian plateau and shorten the distance from Gdynia to Kattowitz by nearly 350

miles. Gdynia, indeed, represents the most striking present-day development on the Baltic. It is significant of the strength of Polish nationalism and portentous because of Danzig and the Corridor.

The Germans at first ignored Gdynia, but as the Poles continued steadily to reclaim the Baltic sands for the new port, the Germans began to regard it as a formidable rival to Danzig. The tonnage of Gdynia in 1929 (3,000,000 tons) exceeded that of Danzig in 1913 by nearly 900,000; while the number of ships (first nine months of 1929) arriving in Danzig was 1,300 less than in 1928. The Germans also assert that the Poles have made port dues lower than Danzig's; vessels are allowed to coal free; warehouse charges are trifling; imports and exports are encouraged by low transport rates and all kinds of subsidies. Germany, above all, fears that Gdynia will be a Polish nationalist guarantee of the eastern boundary and that it will also develop into a world port, with Poland taking possession of the Corridor. To this anxiety is added the fear that it will be a Polish war base and a wedge thrust in between Danzig and the Fatherland.

Poland contends that she has been obliged to build another port as a supplement, not a competitor; for Danzig is too small, too far down the river for her trade outlet. Poland points to her 25,000,000 tons turnover of goods in 1928, of which 40 per cent was by sea, 33 per cent being handled by Danzig (amounting to three-fourths of her total turnover in 1913). But Poland envisages a future sea turnover of goods amounting to 25,000,000 tons, in which case she needs an additional port. Charles Dewey, American Financial Adviser to Poland, supports Poland's contention. He stated in his last report that Danzig is incapable of sufficient development to meet increased Polish traffic because her natural surroundings will not admit of enlarged quays.

The incorporation of the Vistula Valley into the Polish Republic has in ten years completely changed the

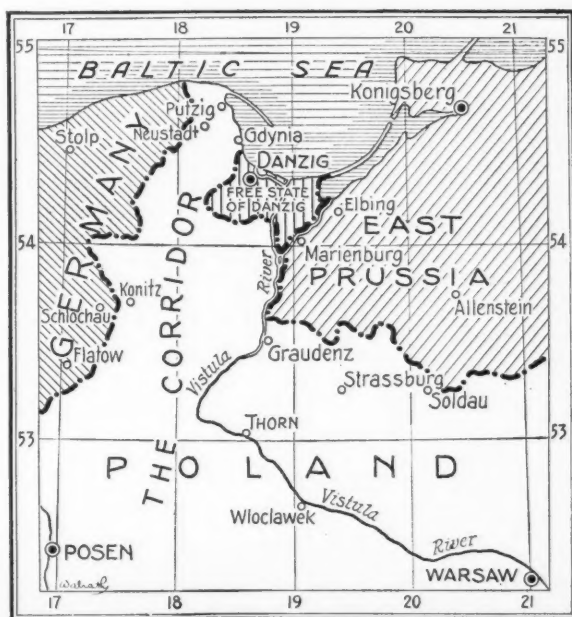
character of that area, for the Corridor, 260 miles long, with an average width of 80 miles, was carved out of the German provinces of East Prussia, Posen and Pomerelia, which had been an integral part of the German Empire. To facilitate transportation serving what is now the industrialized southern part of the Corridor and the agricultural northern part, Germany had utilized all the waterways, chiefly the Vistula, expending large sums not only to make the river navigable 95 miles from its mouth, to build dykes and canals for flood and silt prevention, but also to connect it with other rivers such as the Elbe, Warthe, Niemen and Oder, and with a vast network of canals running well into Germany. The Vistula with its connecting waterways thus formed a great highway of commerce, the main lines of which ran from west to east in harmony with the German Empire. Today, the entire length of the Vistula lies in Poland; its valley forms her natural artery of commerce running south to north with the new Poland, not west to east with the old Germany.

Germany complains that the loss of the Vistula valley has destroyed her trade currents, her connecting waterways and markets, and her "bridge to the east." The Corridor is called a "gash through the living flesh of their country" and a "biological anomaly." But the Poles reply that Poland now is an economic unit; that the Vistula valley forms the natural highway to the sea of a vast agricultural plain. They also point out that this highway represents the "narrow waist" of Europe, the shortest route "from the Black Sea to the Baltic," the old cry of Polish nationalism, whose objectives the Polish Government is today promoting, as witness the railway down the Corridor to Gdynia and the recent commercial agreements with Rumania.

The latter is designed to revive the ancient route between the Black Sea and the Baltic, which, after years of deflection and blockade, has returned to its old bed.

For those Germans remaining in the Corridor and in what is left of West Prussia (one-fourth of its former size), along the east bank of the Vistula, the situation is charged with friction. Under the treaty settlement, Poland controls not only the river but also its eastern bank, thus depriving the people there of all use and advantage of the river. Polish control also means supervision of the dykes, spurs and canals built by the Germans, who claim that Poland so neglects their upkeep that the river has become a menace to them. Again, to give Poland a bridgehead, the boundary was so drawn as to isolate five villages, separating them from their German hinterland and placing them in Poland. While other vagaries of the boundary have bisected a farmstead so that the house lies in Poland, the barnyard in Germany, and a meadow partly in the Fatherland and partly in the Corridor.

At Marienwerder, the seat of local



Map showing Danzig and the Polish Corridor

government for West Prussia, friction becomes very acute. A highway formerly ran here between East and West Prussia. Today this point forms the sole access of East Prussia to the Vistula. A light railway leads up to the river but it is no longer used; it is overgrown with grass. Only residents within six miles have the privilege of crossing on a permit without the usual passport. A Polish guard stands on duty, and signs in Polish bar the way.

Just below Marienwerder there was formerly the famous Muensterwalder Bridge. Built at great expense by Germany in 1906-1909, it crossed the Vistula on five arches, carried a railway and symbolized that west-to-east traffic already described. The treaty gave it to Poland, whereupon she began to demolish it, so that in January, 1930, the last spurs disappeared. The Poles declare that they did not need the bridge, that its upkeep was expensive, that it was old and that they needed its materials elsewhere, but the real reason was that the bridge ran at cross purposes to the new economic, geographic situation now shaped to run north and south with the new Poland.

Closely related to the question of the Vistula is the isolation of East Prussia, now surrounded by Polish territory. Before the war its principal markets were in the neighboring German provinces, but now they are removed twice the former distance by the intervening Corridor. East Prussia has lost from one-fourth to one-fifth of its economic outlet, since the Russian market to the

east is also gone. Insecurity hangs like a cloud over the province; as high as 12 per cent interest is asked for agricultural credits, and the entire district suffers a severe economic depression.

East Prussia is also handicapped by difficulties of communication with its base, the Fatherland. Poland allows full freedom of transit to Germans and their goods on specified "sealed trains" crossing the Corridor. Trains run daily between Berlin and Koenigsberg and even between Berlin and Danzig without change, but only one-third of the pre-war number; while traffic, especially if indirect, is subject to all kinds of vexatious delays due to Polish bureaucratic regulations. One hears bitter German complaints of perishable food-stuffs being spoiled en route and of cattle dying before reaching their destination. These seem trifling affairs, but they all help to foster nationalistic animosities.

Finally, East Prussia is in a position of military insecurity. In the event of war it could be immediately overrun. On the other hand, the Poles contend that, according to the present arrangements, a German fighting force can always lie within striking distance of the most important of all Polish highways.

If there is to be any treaty revision on the eastern frontier, will it not have to be based upon a cooperative readjustment of those vital economic interests in which both Poland and Germany are bound to share? Certainly, the experiences of the past decade have afforded an illuminating demonstration of their present non-adjustment by the treaty settlement.



# *Discovery of the Ninth Planet*

By WATSON DAVIS

MANAGING EDITOR, SCIENCE SERVICE, WASHINGTON

WITH the thrill of finding a long-lost brother, the earth has greeted a new member of the solar family. The trans-Neptunian planet now has a place in astronomy, thanks to the mathematical labors of the late Professor Percival Lowell and the confidence of his successors at Lowell Observatory in his prediction. Ninth of the major orbs circling the sun in majestic paths, the newly discovered planet is the third planet member of the solar system to be located through the agency of modern science. Not since 1846, when the Berlin astronomer, Johann Gottfried Galle, pointed his telescope at the sky spot mathematically determined by the Frenchman, Urbain J. J. Leverrier, and found the planet Neptune, has a major planetary discovery been made. Sir William Herschel in England in 1781 discovered the planet now known as Uranus, the first to be added to the six visible to the unaided eye and so known to the ancients.

The name of Clyde W. Tombaugh, a little over a year ago a Kansas farm boy, will go down in history as the discoverer of the ninth planet, but with his name will be linked that of Percival Lowell as Galle's is with Leverrier's. The discovery of the ninth planet, in keeping with the growing complexity of science, is an institutional accomplishment. Twenty-five years ago Professor Percival Lowell began to compute the position of the trans-Neptunian planet from the way its gravitational pull affects other planets, particularly Uranus and Neptune. The prediction of the ninth planet proved much more difficult than Leverrier's task. The task of actual discovery was left upon Lowell's death in

1916 to his successors. Professor Lowell was born on the seventy-fourth anniversary of the first planetary discovery, that of Uranus by Sir William Herschel on March 13, 1781. With a peculiar sense of the fitness of things, Dr. V. M. Slipher, director of Lowell Observatory, chose March 13, 1930, seventy-fifth anniversary of Lowell's birth and 149th anniversary of the discovery of Uranus, to announce to the world that Professor Lowell's prediction had been fulfilled.

Sept. 23, 1846, brought the eighth major member of the solar system, Neptune, to the attention of astronomers, and from that time to now, no additions have been made. But this is probably not the last. The failure of Uranus to move exactly as expected led astronomers to explain the discrepancies as due to the gravitational attraction of an unknown planet beyond. From these studies the position of Neptune was predicted and the planet was found. As many more years of observations of Uranus became available, still other discrepancies appeared, discrepancies which Lowell studied and used, as we now know, to such good advantage. As Uranus, Neptune and the new planet itself are studied in more detail, and have moved further in their slow, plodding course, other discrepancies, which are now vaguely glimpsed, will appear, and still other planets—the tenth and perhaps even the eleventh and twelfth—will be discovered. But each will be more difficult than the last, and it may be that the most distant planets will forever continue to move around the sun, unsuspected by earthly man.

How does 24-year-old Tombaugh, who up to 1929 was farmer by Summer

would have about seven times the mass of the earth, Dr. Stewart made a preliminary calculation of some of the planet's characteristics. The planet is very faint. At the same distance from the sun and earth Neptune would be about sixty times brighter. Only Mercury and Mars would be fainter. Either Lowell's predicted mass is not strictly correct or the planet is very dense or very black. The planet's density is between six and seven times that of water; its diameter 14,000 miles; its angular diameter seven-tenths of a second of arc, or about a twenty-five hundredth the apparent diameter of the moon; the force of gravity on its surface more than twice that of the earth, so that with a spring balance a 150-pound man would weigh something like 325 pounds on the planet. He also estimates that it reflects about 4 per cent of the light falling on it, so that it would be little brighter than a coal pile. The planet is estimated to be 4,000,000,000 miles from the sun.

Professor Lowell published his "Memoir on the Trans-Neptunian Planet" in 1915 as Volume 1, No. 1, of the Lowell Observatory Memoirs. He died the next year and his body lies in a mausoleum at his beloved observatory. His colleagues carried on his work. In making his prediction, Lowell used the general methods that led in 1846 to the discovery of the planet Neptune, until this year the outpost of the solar system. Lowell began his memoir: "Ever since celestial mechanics in the skillful hands of Leverrier and Adams led to the world-amazing discovery of Neptune a belief has existed begotten of that success that still other planets lay beyond, only waiting to be found. Leverrier himself, with the far-sight of genius, was firmly of this view, though unfortunately oversanguine of the happy date of its demonstration. In consequence since his time many attempts have been made to indicate the position of one or more of these unknowns, attempts for the most part of no scientific value because not founded on rigorous mathematical investiga-

tion. For so complicated is the problem that all elementary means of dealing with it lead only to error. The sole road to any hope of capture lies through the methodical approach of laborious analysis." But Lowell's task was more difficult than that of his predecessors. As he said in his prediction, "We cannot use Neptune as a finger-post to a trans-Neptunian as Uranus was used for Neptune because we do not possess observations of Neptune far enough back. A disturbed body must have pursued a fairly long path before the effects of perturbation detach themselves from what may be well represented by altering the elements of the disturbed. Neptune has not been known long enough to do this."

For the purpose of observing the first total eclipse of the sun in the United States since 1925, astronomers proceeded from all parts of the country to a narrow strip of land near San Francisco to witness on April 28 the tip of the moon's shadow graze the earth for a mere second or two.

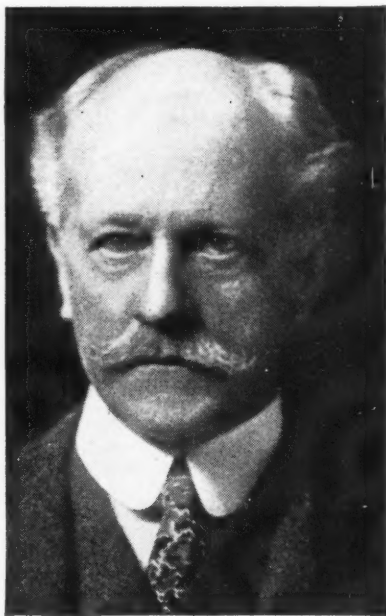
Astronomers at the United States Naval Observatory are preparing for an expedition to a remote island in the South Pacific to observe another total solar eclipse on Oct. 21. Niuafof Island, a tiny bit of land in the Tonga group, is the only accessible location from which the October eclipse can be seen. It is not much frequented by travelers, for the ordinary contact with the outside world for its few hundred inhabitants is a tin can full of mail thrown overboard by the monthly interisland steamer. A native swims out and gets the can, which has given Niuafof the local name of "Tin Can Island." Despite its inaccessibility, the naval observatory has decided to sponsor an expedition there to observe the eclipse. This will not be strictly a naval observatory expedition, however, for astronomers from various American observatories will participate. Dr. S. A. Mitchell, director of the Leander McCormick Observatory of the University of Virginia and veteran of seven previous eclipses, will head the party.

and amateur telescope maker by Winter, feel about his discovery? Let him tell in his own words: "In searching for the new planet I was carrying out a systematically arranged program and was fortunate in being assigned to this work with the splendid new Lowell photographic telescope. I was determined to examine the ecliptic thoroughly and carefully all the way around the sky. In the course of several months of arduous research I had been ever expecting to find the new planet predicted by Professor Lowell. Examination of plate after plate failed to reveal it, but many asteroids and variable stars were found. I had figured out just how the object sought for should appear. The ecliptic survey was nearly half completed when one day I found an object on my plates that fulfilled expectations. Almost instantly I felt that it was the one looked for, and, of course, felt greatly elated. The work on the planet, however, is far from finished. Now that it is found, the elements of its orbit, and much else concerning it, must be learned, so doubtless it will be a much observed object. I am not a mathematician, and so the work on the planet is being carried on largely by the senior members of the observatory staff."

With a microscope as well as a telescope the trans-Neptunian planet was discovered. The Lawrence Lowell telescope used was made especially for the purpose with a thirteen-inch lens of sixty-three inches focal length. With it the earliest photograph of the planet was made on Jan. 21, but as its image did not differ from that of a star, it

could not be identified immediately. Two nights later another plate was made of the same part of the sky, without any suspicion of the planet's presence. The plates were compared with the instrument known as a "blink microscope." This holds the two plates side by side, with a light behind each. By means of totally reflecting prisms that serve as mirrors, the light from each is reflected into a microscope in

the middle. Looking through the microscope's eyepiece, the astronomer can see a magnified view of either plate as desired. The plates are adjusted so that the stars in each are seen in the same place. If only ordinary stars are visible, changing the light from one plate to the other produces no visible change. But if on the plate there is a planet or a comet, moving among the stars, then its image seems to dance back and forth as the light is changed, or, as the astronomer says, "as the plates are blinked." By such a comparison as this the planet was discovered.



Science Service

PERCIVAL LOWELL

The new planet resembles the earth and the other inner planets in size and brightness more nearly than it does its huge closer neighbors, Jupiter, Saturn, Uranus and Neptune. Black as coal, nearly as dense as iron, twice as dense as the heaviest earthly surface rocks. So Dr. John Q. Stewart's estimates reveal the new planet. Because of the great pull of gravity shown by the Princeton astronomer's figures, a man there could jump less than half as far as he could here on the earth. From the observations showing the planet to be of the fifteenth magnitude, and the prediction of Professor Lowell that it

# *Russia's Effort to Establish Communism*

By EDGAR S. FURNISS

DEAN OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL, YALE UNIVERSITY;  
CURRENT HISTORY ASSOCIATE

**T**ROTSKY HAS COINED the phrase, "a policy of zigzag," to characterize the program of the Kremlin under Stalin's leadership.\* The phrase is a condemnation of the inconsistencies of the present Soviet régime, the frequent shifts of immediate objective from thoroughgoing communism to moderate State socialism and back again, the oscillation of tactics between the extremes of ruthless severity and mild tolerance, which are interpreted by the former war lord as evidence that the country has fallen into the hands of unprincipled time-servers and place-seekers.

During January and February there was every indication that a program of immediate and "simon pure" communism in agriculture was to be carried through against all odds. The February decrees gave the local Soviets power to expropriate the kulaks (rich peasants) and to bring pressure to bear upon the middle and poorer peasantry to sweep them into the collectivist organizations. The fate in store for the kulaks was described officially as complete extermination.

In other branches of the economic system a similar purpose was manifest. The private traders who had been tolerated of recent years disappeared from the markets. The drive against the priests and churches had become so aggressive as to call forth world-wide denunciation. Soviet policy was drifting into the hands of young hot-heads, impatient of restraint, who proposed to carry everything before them by sheer enthusiasm and ruthlessness.

An abrupt halt upon this breakneck

pace was called by Stalin in a public statement which appeared in all the Russian newspapers on March 2. While purporting to be nothing more than an expression of personal opinion, this statement was in reality a series of stern warnings to the local commissars that they must revise their policy and moderate their tactics. The activities of local party workers were brought under the rule of law and the review of the courts; extreme measures were denounced as illegal and disloyal; and the significant principle was laid down that both the socialization of lands and the closing of churches must proceed only with the consent of the people immediately concerned. Lest any doubt remain as to his meaning, Stalin repeated his statement a month later. The collectivist unit in agriculture was redefined to modify its Communist nature and bring it more in line with the "artel" with which the Russian peasant has long been familiar. Hereafter only the lands, the mechanical equipment and the larger live stock are to be held in common. Homes and small orchards, pigs and poultry may remain in private ownership.

The new decrees are made retroactive to repair damages already inflicted upon the peasants. The local soviets are ordered forthwith to return the various types of private property where they have been seized. Peasants who have joined the collectives under duress must be allowed to withdraw if they wish to do so.

Most striking of all is the change of attitude toward the proscribed kulaks. Hundreds of thousands of these to Communist ruthlessness during the wealthier peasants have fallen victim

\*See also the article on pages 319-324.



## *Aerial Events of the Month*

THE new season for transoceanic flights opened with the trip of Captain Yancey from New York to Bermuda. Accompanied by William Alexander, as pilot, and Zeh Bouck, radio operator, Captain Yancey left New York in the plane *The Pilot* on April 1 in an attempt to make an eight-hour trip to Bermuda. The plane took off at 9:30 that morning, and at 6 that night landed on the water about sixty miles from Bermuda. The flight had not been previously announced in Bermuda and no special preparations had been made for the aviators' arrival, so that Yancey felt it safer to land on the sea than to attempt a landing on unknown ground at night. The three men spent the night at sea, which was calm, and took off from the water at 5:45 the next morning and arrived in Bermuda at 9. The actual flying time of the trip was eight and one-half hours. Owing to favorable weather, there was little danger connected with the night landing. A second landing on the last lap to Bermuda was caused by lack of fuel. The trip from New York to Bermuda is considered one of the most difficult, partly because of meteorological conditions resulting from the sudden change in temperature when passing over the Gulf Stream.

The *Eleanor Bolling* and the *City of New York*, the two ships of the Byrd expedition, reached Dunedin, New Zealand, from the Antarctic on March 10. There the members of the expedition were entertained and fêted for nearly two weeks while the vessels were put into shape for the voyage home. Discussion of ownership of lands explored by Commander Byrd indicates that he will claim his discoveries for the United States Government, and that these claims do not conflict with those of the British to the Ross Dependency.

The majority of the expedition left

Dunedin on March 23 and April 1 on the *City of New York* and the *Eleanor Bolling*. Commander Byrd expected to leave on a steamer for Panama some time before the end of April. Films of the Byrd expedition were sent by steamer to Balboa, by plane to the other end of the Panama Canal, and from there by air to New York City in the care of Lee Schoenhair, piloting the plane *Miss Silvertown*. Schoenhair left the Canal Zone on March 30, stopped among other places at Miami, Fla., and deposited the films safely in New York on April 2. His flight of 1,300 miles from Miami to New York was made in eight and one-half hours.

The development of the glider, in which Colonel Lindbergh has played a conspicuous part, was further demonstrated at the end of March by the transcontinental glider trip of Frank Hawks, who set out to be towed behind a biplane from San Diego, Cal., to New York. The first day's trip took him to Tucson, Ariz., where he separated the glider from the tow plane and landed the plane by itself. By April 3 the aerial train had reached St. Louis.

An unofficial altitude record for women was set on March 10 by the young aerial veteran, Miss Elinor Smith. Miss Smith flew her plane to approximately 30,000 feet, lost consciousness until her plane descended to a more normal level, regained control and brought the plane down to a satisfactory landing. The previous record was 23,996 feet.

Dr. Hugo Eckener, who was in the United States in March in connection with a proposed transatlantic Zeppelin flight in May, was on March 27 awarded the special gold medal of the National Geographic Society, an international honor which has been presented to ten persons, of whom three have been fliers.

past year. Expelled from their homes and their children from the schools, they have been denied all civil rights and even forbidden to own food cards at a time when almost all food was rationed. Their difficulties have been increased by vagueness of definition. No one knew just what a kulak was; hence the local authorities had arbitrary power over the destinies of millions of peasants. The new decrees have done something to clarify this situation for the future, as well as to redress a multitude of grievances suffered by this proscribed class during the past year.

The entire kulak class is said to constitute not more than 3 per cent of the farming population. A kulak is defined as a man who rents land in addition to his own allotment, or hires wage labor, or engages in supplementary profit-seeking enterprise. This, of course, describes the most energetic and resourceful of the village community, and against them, under the new policy as under the old, a relentless campaign is to be waged. But at any rate a man is not to be victimized—as has frequently been the case in the past—solely because he is less poverty-stricken than his neighbors. Moreover, the penalties suffered by the kulaks are to be greatly moderated. Wives and children may retain their civil rights, their right to an education, and their eligibility for the food ration, and a place in industry through which to regain his social status has been provided for the kulak expelled from the village. Steps have been taken to make these measures retroactive. By the end of the first week of April thousands of families had been reinstated in the rights of citizenship, comprising 38 per cent of those who appealed to the courts under the decrees of March.

Members of the collectives are now exempt from all taxation upon their tools and farm animals for a period of two years. A moratorium is declared upon outstanding debts until after the next harvest. All fines imposed by the Soviet authorities before April 1 for failure to conform to regulations are canceled. A loan fund of \$250,000,000

has been set aside for the use of the collective farms during the second half of the fiscal year.

The official press is at pains to deny that this represents a change of policy or a retreat from Communist positions taken earlier in the year, insisting that Stalin's strategy intends merely to consolidate gains already achieved and to reassemble the Communist forces for a new advance. The response of the country, however, indicates that to the people at large these events have a deeper significance. The reaction may be likened to the wave of spontaneous rejoicing which sweeps through a country at the end of the long war. In many districts the peasants began at once to put the new decrees into effect by recovering portions of their property which had been forcibly communized. Indeed, according to official Soviet journals, some of the new collectives shrank suddenly in size—in extreme cases by one-half—as the peasants availed themselves of the option of withdrawing their lands. It was also reported on April 7 from Moscow that Stalin's proclamation had been followed by a flood of peasant protests against the collective farm movement and even direct resignations. The private traders who had been driven into hiding reappeared in the markets with their slender stocks of wares, and the bazaars began again to receive goods which the peasants had secreted from the official government buyers. There has been a startling change in the tone of the party press. The hue and cry of the heresy hunters ceased abruptly with the publication of Stalin's article. The papers are now demanding the punishment of the same extremists who were hailed a month ago as exponents of the purist faith.

Speculations as to the reasons for the Kremlin's change of attitude are apt to overstress the influence of foreign opinion. No doubt the voices of the great religious denominations of Europe and America raised in condemnation of the Soviet drive against the churches were heeded in Moscow to the degree that they threatened to

disturb the international, political and economic relationships of the Soviet Union. But it is probable that the real reasons are to be found within the country itself, and that the chief significance of the new policy lies in the recognition by the Soviet leaders of the partial failure of their agrarian program. There were elements of obvious danger in the situation throughout the country districts. Spontaneous rebellion among the more desperate of the peasants was on the increase.

This took an extreme form when large numbers abandoned their lands and set off toward the frontiers seeking escape from the Bolshevik order of life. Probably these migrations have been exaggerated by the foreign press, but their reality is scarcely open to question. During the Winter months some thousands of peasants from Western Siberia drifted across European Russia seeking reunion with their German co-religionists. News despatches early in March spoke of a new wave of emigrants numbering hundreds of families attempting to cross the eastern frontier of Poland. Soviet patrols had to be doubled and trebled to prevent these émigrés from crossing the border. Some light was thrown on this condition of affairs when Bolshevik spokesmen replied to Rumania's protest against the concentration of troops on the Bessarabian frontier by saying that these were border guards required to turn back the emigrants.

Such demonstrations of desperation and hopelessness are by no means typical of the general attitude of the peasants. But even more disquieting to the Soviet authorities was the increasing evidence of the essential instability of the new agrarian organizations, even among those sections of the people who had joined the movement voluntarily. On March 11 *Pravda* published a startling exposé of conditions in one of the model collective regions of the Volga territory, a region which had been advertised as an example of complete agrarian communism. This official paper declared that close scrutiny of the figures reduced the collectivized

area from the 96 per cent claimed, to less than a third of the lands; and implied that even here the foundations of the experiment were insecure. Many similar examples could be cited from Soviet sources which throw doubt upon the reliability of the government's own estimates. The mushroom growth of the collectives during January and February now appears to have been largely illusory. Many of the members had been terrorized into joining the movement, and it is said that a substantial fraction of those who came in voluntarily have never really understood the implications of the new social unit, or embraced it as a way of life. Considering that the program of agrarian revolution forms the very cornerstone of the entire social policy of Russia, it is easy to see how dangerous to the hopes of communism were the self-delusion and over-optimism which have characterized party opinion since Autumn of last year.

With the Bolshevik authorities repudiating their own statistics, it is almost impossible for the foreign observer to make a reliable estimate of the real economic and social condition of Russia at the present time. At the end of February the Commissariat of Agriculture announced that 55 per cent of the entire farm area of Russia had been collectivized, the proportion having doubled within the short space of three weeks. Less than a month later a revised estimate placed the percentage at 35. It is probably futile to attempt to appraise the success of the policy until the new decrees of March have had time to work out their effects.

When we leave the realm of policy, however, and deal with economic facts we are on surer ground; and here the condition of affairs is on the whole favorable. The prospects of the coming harvest are most hopeful. Seasonable snowfalls have safeguarded the Winter wheat from frost, and a bumper crop is forecast by the present indications. The Soviet authorities have been especially successful in increasing the area of Spring sowing and improving the seed and the methods of cultivation, all of

which augurs well for the Fall harvest. Final figures for the grain crop in 1929 show a substantial increase over the previous year; and the grain collection program was concluded on March 1 with a large surplus, four months ahead of schedule. It seems an anomaly in the midst of this unusual plenty that so many of the people should still be living on meager food rations fixed by law. Yet in the cities the food allowance is even now but little above the famine level. In Moscow two pounds of bread a day are allowed for a manual laborer, one pound for the clerical worker; three pounds of meat every ten days is the ration for the wage earner, two pounds for the sedentary occupation; milk is reserved for children and invalids; butter and other fats are a rarity. The Soviet authorities are inclined to lay the blame for this condition upon the inefficiency of the railroads and the general slackness of the marketing system, which is a governmental monopoly.

Statistics of industrial production record steady progress of the factories and mines during the first third of this second year of the five-year program. The rigid system of price control destroys the value of all estimates which run in monetary terms, but a comparison of absolute quantities produced shows expanding output all along the line. Thus oil production gained 16 per cent, coal 21 per cent, iron ore 45 per cent, pig iron 30 per cent, textiles from 10 to 16 per cent, and shoes 69 per cent. A crude average of industrial output is 27 per cent higher than for the same period last year. Notable gains have been made in the heavy machinery industry and in the number, size and productive capacity of power plants. The favorable position of the treasury has enabled the government to add almost \$200,000,000 to the funds available for immediate investment in the heavy metal industries.

One might suppose that these evidences of substantial progress would have been hailed with delight by the Russian press; but the contrary was true. Production figures, though 27 per

cent above last year's, have not fulfilled the specifications of the program which called for a 32 per cent increase. It is some indication of the tenseness of life in Russia that the party press condemned this showing as entirely unsatisfactory and demanded drastic action to spur the workers to higher efforts. New stimulus is to be applied through increased powers of management. Many industrial plants are in process of reorganization, the former groups of directorates being replaced by single autocratic managers. As a corollary the workers' committees, which are almost the last remaining effective organ of unionized labor, are to lose their powers of interference in matters of discipline.

The transport system of Russia has received especially severe criticism in the Soviet press. As indicated above, the food difficulties in the cities are attributed, probably with good reason, to the inefficiencies of the railroads, and there is continuous complaint from industrial centres that their operations are frequently stalled by a failure of freight service. According to *Izvestiya* these difficulties are on the increase, and again the remedy demanded is a surrender of democratic control in favor of the capitalist system of single command. At present the entire railroad system is organized in a single unit under the control of a political officer, Commissar Rudzutak. Under him is a hierarchy of bureaucrats subject to more or less control by workers' committees and local and regional political bodies. It is proposed to sweep away this awkward political structure, save for the supreme command of Commissar Rudzutak, and to replace it with a system of trained and responsible technicians. A Russian commission is now in the United States examining the organization of our railroads and seeking American managers for the Soviet transport system. Ralph Budd, president of the Great Northern, has been invited to Russia to initiate what is described as the "Americanization of the Russian railways in equipment, management and administration."

A statistical analysis of Russia's for-



eign trade during the first half of the present fiscal year shows substantial gains in the totals, and a maintenance of the favorable balance which is so important to the Soviet Union in view of her absolute dependence upon foreign supplies of raw materials and machine equipment, and her utter lack of borrowing power. It is doubtful, however, whether these figures are susceptible of interpretation along lines usually followed by economists. The kinds, quantities and prices of goods entering into Russian trade are determined by political action. Certainly exports do not indicate a surplus of production in excess of domestic needs, since commodities in urgent demand at home are shipped abroad by order of the State. Nor do the items of the import statement indicate the consumption habits and needs of the people, for these things are determined by central authority. What this means was strikingly illustrated a month ago when Russian textiles were offered for sale in Lancashire at prices 20 per cent below the British cost of production, while the people of the Russian cities complained that the markets were bare of cloth.

Implicit in these statements of Russian commerce, as indeed in most of the economic statistics of the Soviet Union, is a record of the grinding burden of the five-year program upon the masses of the country. Reduced to essentials the five-year program comes to this: that Russia is attempting without foreign assistance, and as it were in a moment of time, to carry through a social revolution requiring a vast accumulation of capital, an expensive reorganization of productive methods, and a thoroughgoing change in the behavior patterns of her people. Every phase of this intricate program requires the investment of current income in non-consumable articles of wealth—factories, mines, power plants, machinery, schools, experiment stations; and these can come from no other source than the enforced savings of Russia's impoverished people, thus reducing a standard of living al-

ready well-nigh incredibly low. No nation in history has undertaken quite so stupendous a task; and every nation which has passed through a period of industrialization even remotely as rapid has done so under autocratic control. England's industrial revolution struck a much slower pace and was supported by streams of supplies drawn from the profits of an expanding export trade; yet it involved industrial and political impotence for the masses. Japan, with her ability to borrow abroad, was able to hasten the pace of industrialization; but she too was obliged to subject her people to economic and political autocracy. Only absolute dictatorship and iron discipline can wring from the Russian people the economic means demanded by the five-year program. The present Soviet leaders manipulate the entire structure of social and economic life to the end that the common man shall be denied as large a fraction as possible of the fruits of his labor, that they may be invested by the government in capital equipment for the benefit of future generations.

Cloth, shoes, household utensils and other products in desperate demand at home are shipped to foreign markets to be exchanged for raw materials and machine equipment. Wages are fixed by law at a level which maintains only a primitive mode of existence, and taxes are levied upon any and every social class which appears to possess a margin of income above essential needs. Paper money is issued in exchange for goods bought by the State within the country, and when this inevitably results in an increase of purchasing power in the hands of the people the government limits the quantities of goods which appear in the markets and rations this limited supply so that there is scarcely enough to go around. Prices of goods produced by the State trusts are set at an arbitrary level to create a flow of profits, and these profits are reinvested in fixed capital equipment. This year the government announces that \$2,000,000,000 of new capital will be made

available through the treasury for industrial expansion. These funds are squeezed out of the people, either directly through taxes and forced loans, or indirectly through an underpayment of labor, an overcharge in prices, or the issue of government paper money. In short, the program is financed by a series of open or covert expropriations of the wealth and income of a people subjected to absolute political and industrial autocracy.

The record of economic progress briefly reviewed above does not mean, therefore, that prosperity is increasing for the average human being. It means that Stalin and his lieutenants have contrived to appropriate the small margin of income which exists above essential needs, and to retain command over the labor power of the people, so that both may be directed toward social reconstruction. The problem, granted the technical ability required by so gigantic a task of social engineering, is a political one with a double bearing: how to dominate the behavior of 150,000,000 subjects through a governing party numbering little more than 1,000,000 persons; and how to maintain autocratic control over this party as an instrument of government. The recent drastic changes in agrarian policy and tactics are an adjustment to the first half of this problem, intended to appease a restive people. The reaction throughout the country is evidence that the manoeuvre has accomplished its purpose. It is little short of astounding that so sudden a change of front should not have upset Stalin's control within the party; but, as stated above, this is the case. When, therefore, one places these events in their relationship to the five-year program and the essentially political problem which it involves, they testify to the strength rather than to the weakness of the Communist régime within the borders of the Soviet Union.

There is evidence, however, that such abrupt exercise of dictatorial power tends to weaken the cohesion of the party in its international branches. It is difficult enough at best to maintain

loyalty to a central authority and unquestioning obedience to a single line of policy among branches of the party scattered all over the world and compelled to adjust to widely differing national conditions. The difficulty is multiplied when the orders of the central authority are subject to sudden and unexplained change. That Moscow is still controlling the situation was shown by its sharp letter to the Swiss Communist committee at Berne (April 9), declaring it not to be sufficiently active in propaganda work in Switzerland.

On the surface, however, there is still a large degree of unanimity within the international party. The anniversary of the founding of the Third International in March was celebrated by Communist demonstrations in all the principal cities of the world, which gave what appeared to be an impressive display of allegiance to the Kremlin. But the subject of the demonstrations—a protest against unemployment—was chosen astutely to mobilize the grievances of wage earners all over the world and unite labor in protest against an evil which is everywhere a serious thing at the present time. The repressive and often violent tactics of the police in many European capitals and in some cities of the United States served to weld these groups momentarily together with a feeling of common martyrdom.

But beneath the surface there is evidence of increasing disruption within the dispersed branches of the party. In this country the Communists are split into bitterly opposed factions, which could not refrain from staging a violent family quarrel in New York even at the season of the Communist anniversary. In each of the European countries where the movement is at all strong the party has at least one wing in rebellion against the authority of the Russian leaders. Sudden changes of tactics dictated by the internal situation of the Soviet Union magnify these divisive tendencies and weaken the Communist movement in its mission of world revolution.

# *Haiti's New Status*

By CHARLES W. HACKETT

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PRESIDENT HOOVER'S Haitian investigating commission arrived at Port au Prince on Feb. 28 and departed for the United States on March 15. On the basis of the commission's report and recommendations, Haiti can now look forward to the early termination of United States military intervention, which began in 1915, and the resumption of regular diplomatic relations with us.

As regards the general significance of these changes, actual and prospective, it may be said that President Hoover's pre-inaugural tour of Latin America; his filling of Latin-American diplomatic posts with men who know the Spanish language and the Latin-American temperament; the recent virtual endorsement by the Department of State of former Under-Secretary of State J. Reuben Clark's interpretation that the Monroe Doctrine was meant to apply solely to relationships between European Governments and American Governments and that it "lays down no principles to govern the inter-relationships of the States of the Western Hemisphere as among ourselves", and, finally, the new Haitian policy of the United States, constitute, collectively, an imposing array of concrete evidence of an intelligent, sympathetic, and statesmanlike policy of the Hoover Administration to Latin-American and, particularly, to Caribbean problems.

Haiti, it will be remembered, in the five-year period from 1910 to 1915, encountered many grave financial and political difficulties.\* In 1910 the government, by granting certain concessions to foreign investors, including some Americans, aroused local opposi-

tion that brought about its downfall in 1911 and at the same time laid the basis for protests from foreign governments in behalf of their adventurous, and in some instances none too scrupulous, nationals. Marked political instability characterized the period. As the result of purely domestic wars, in which care was taken not to menace the lives or property of foreigners, Haiti had between August, 1911, and July, 1915, no fewer than six Presidents. Four of these were overthrown by a revolution and three of them were assassinated. Under these conditions amortization payments on the foreign debt, totaling \$24,000,000, soon were in default; interest payments, however, were maintained.

The United States Government, convinced that Haiti was incapable of stable government, made various efforts from 1914 on to negotiate with the Haitian Government a convention which would place the control of Haitian finances in the hands of a customs receiver to be appointed by the President of the United States. All such proposals, however, were rejected by the Haitian Government. While successfully resisting the demands of the United States for customs control, says Professor Douglas, the Haitian Government in 1914 and 1915 became involved in financial disputes with the Haitian Railroad and the Haitian National Bank—which were partly owned by Americans and which had received undue favors from the defaulting Haitian Government in 1910. These difficulties soon led to a definite breach between the United States and Haiti.

While relations were thus strained, President Guillaume Sam's Administration was abruptly terminated by a revolution, and on July 28, 1915, Sam

\*See also article by John H. Allen on pages 325-329.

was killed by a mob. That day United States marines landed in Port au Prince and began to disarm Haitian soldiers and various revolutionary bands. This was followed by the establishment of United States control over the internal administration of the country. The military intervention thus begun has continued to the present time, but not without native opposition. The Senate investigating committee in 1922 reported that Haitian resistance to the American occupation in five years had resulted in the deaths of twelve marines and 3,250 Haitians, or a greater number, according to one Haitian leader, than had been killed in all Haiti's internal revolutions combined.

In summarizing the motives behind the American occupation a recent publication of the Foreign Policy Association says: "The first reason given \*\*\* was humanitarian. \* \* \* The second motive of the United States was to protect and promote American economic interests. \* \* \* The third motive back of the occupation was strategic." To be more specific concerning each of these assigned motives: Secretary of State Lansing said that the purpose of the intervention, in part, was "to terminate the appalling conditions of anarchy, savagery and oppression \*\*\* prevalent in Haiti for decades, and to undertake the establishment of domestic peace in the republic." As regards American economic interests, it was brought out by the Senate investigating committee in 1922 that there were few Americans in Haiti in 1915 and that American investments there did not exceed \$15,000,000. With reference to strategic motives, Secretary Lansing declared that "there was good reason to believe that in the recent years of 1913-14 Germany was ready to go to great lengths to secure the exclusive control of Haiti and also to secure a coaling station at Mole St. Nicholas." Without referring to Germany's predicament at the time of the American occupation in 1915, Secretary Lansing added that the United States occupied Haiti because of a "desire to forestall any attempt by a foreign power to obtain a

foothold on the territory of an American nation which, if a seizure of customs control by such a power had occurred, or if a grant of a coaling station or naval base had been obtained, would have most certainly been a menace to the peace of the Western Hemisphere, and in flagrant defiance of the Monroe Doctrine."

Fifteen days after marines were landed in Port au Prince the National Assembly elected a new President. Admiral Caperton, the United States officer in charge, had previously advised the Department of State that one of the candidates, Dartiguenave, "realizes Haiti must agree to terms laid down by the United States, professes to believe any terms laid down by the United States will be for Haiti's benefit, says he will use all his influence with Haitian Congress to have such terms agreed upon by Haiti." Acting Secretary of State Benson replied to Admiral Caperton that "the United States prefers election of Dartiguenave." On election day marines were present in the hall, and Admiral Caperton's representative was officially reported to have been "present on the floor and mixed in with the Senators and Deputies." The Senate investigating committee in 1922 reached the conclusion that American officials "influenced the majority of the Assembly in the choice of a President." Dartiguenave was elected.

The United States having set up a "government" in Haiti, the next step was to negotiate a treaty. Between Aug. 14 and Sept. 16, 1915, despite opposition by Dartiguenave and his Cabinet, a treaty was made which constituted the price paid by the new government for recognition by the United States. During the negotiations Admiral Caperton, on instructions from Washington, had seized the custom houses, thereby securing control of Haitian finances; truly did the Admiral state that the United States had "actually accomplished a military intervention in affairs of another nation." Admiral Caperton had also proclaimed martial law and had felt constrained, according to his advices to



Washington, to exercise "military pressure at propitious moments in negotiations." During the negotiations the Haitian Secretary of State resigned and was succeeded by Louis Borno, who favored the treaty and who has since, through the favor of United States officials in Haiti, been twice elected President.

Opposition to the treaty developed in the Haitian Congress, but a majority for ratification was obtained in the lower house when Admiral Caperton, in complete control of the customs, and on specific instructions from Secretary of the Navy Daniels, promised that the question of "payment of back salary will be settled by department immediately after ratification of treaty." The Senate was coerced into ratifying the treaty when Secretary Daniels cabled that the United States Government "has the intention to retain control in Haiti until the desired end is accomplished." This and other threats, not herein specified, he instructed Admiral Caperton to make "sufficiently clear to remove all opposition and to secure immediate ratification." The treaty was formally ratified by the Haitian Congress on Nov. 12, 1915, and became operative on May 3, 1916. Under it the United States has continued to operate in Haiti to the present time.

This treaty provides for a General Receiver and a Financial Adviser in Haiti, both nominated by the President of the United States. The duty of the former is to "collect, receive, and apply" all customs duties and of the latter to make recommendations to the Ministry of Finance that are designed to improve methods of collecting and distributing revenues. Funds in excess of expenses of the offices of the two officials are to be applied by the General Receiver, first, to the Haitian foreign debt; secondly, to a native constabulary, organized and officered by Americans appointed by the President of the United States, and the balance to the current expenses of the government. Haiti pledged itself by the treaty not to increase its public debt without the consent of the United States,

not to surrender any of its territory, and not to enter into any treaty that would impair its independence. For the development of its natural resources Haiti agreed to carry out such measures "as in the opinion of the contracting parties may be necessary for the sanitation and public improvement of the Republic." The United States Government pledged itself to "aid" Haiti in the development of its resources and to "lend an efficient aid for the preservation of Haitian independence and the maintenance of a government adequate for the protection of life, property and individual liberty." Provision was also made for American control over sanitation and public improvements but not over schools and the courts. However, the American authorities maintain a system of martial law and provost courts by which Haitians challenging the authority of the American Occupation may be summarily tried.

The treaty was to be effective until 1926, but if in the opinion of either party its objects had not been satisfactorily accomplished by that year, it might be continued for another ten years. As early as 1918 an agreement was signed by Haitian Foreign Minister Borno and United States Minister Blanchard by which the treaty continues in force until 1936, the excuse assigned being the "necessity of a loan for a term of more than ten years." The legality of this agreement is in grave question since it never has been approved by either the Haitian Congress (before its dissolution in 1917) or by the United States Senate.

Until 1922 the military authority of the United States in Haiti was represented by a commandant of a marine brigade of approximately 2,000 troops, and American civil authority by a Minister accredited to the Haitian Government and by the officials provided for by the treaty. In 1922 the office of High Commissioner was created by the United States Department of State to coordinate the activities of the treaty officials in Haiti, and Brig. Gen. John H. Russell appointed to the posi-

tion with the diplomatic rank of Envoy Extraordinary. Although a marine officer, he is responsible to the Department of State. Nevertheless, his appointment has never been referred to the Senate for approval. Since 1925 no Minister has been accredited to the Haitian Government by the United States.

Meanwhile, in 1917, amendments to the Haitian Constitution, drafted by Franklin D. Roosevelt, at that time Assistant Secretary of the Navy, to safeguard the American occupation and to legalize the ownership of land by aliens, were submitted to the Haitian Congress. When that body refused to approve them, American marine officers, by an exhibition of military pressure even more pronounced than that by which the treaty of 1915 was negotiated and ratified, coerced President Dartiguenave into dissolving arbitrarily the Congress on June 19, 1917. From that day to this there has been no session of the Haitian Congress. Though there was left no legal means of amending the Constitution, by a purely extra-legal procedure the ratification of the amendments was secured in a national plebiscite conducted under the supervision of American marines and with a unanimity so ridiculous (98,294 votes for and 769 votes against the amendments) as to stamp the whole proceeding with coercion, manipulation and fraud.

The so-called Constitution of 1918 provides for the election of a Chamber of Deputies of thirty-six and a Senate of fifteen members; in joint session the two bodies are to elect the President. The Constitution, however, has been interpreted as giving the President discretionary power to issue a call for Congressional elections. No such elections have been called, and in the absence of a Congress, a Council of State of twenty-one members, created by Dartiguenave in 1916, exercises extra-legal nominal legislative authority. Its members are appointed by and serve only at the pleasure of the President.

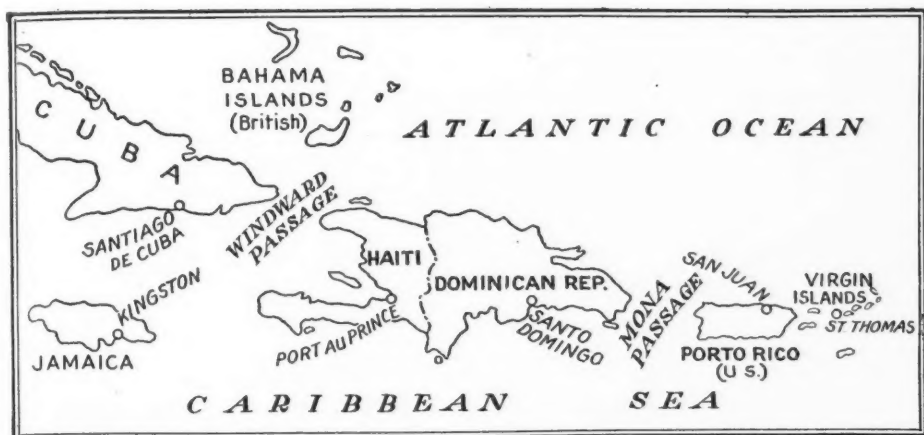
In 1922, and again in 1926, a national

executive was extra-legally chosen by the Council of State. Dartiguenave served as President until 1922, but falling into disfavor with the American officials, partly because of his interpretations of the 1915 convention, he was defeated for re-election by Louis Borno. In 1926 Borno again received the Presidency from the hands of a Council of State which he had named and controlled. The term for which he was elected is to end on May 15, 1930.

In this summary of political events in Haiti for the two decades since 1910, no effort is made to summarize the material accomplishments of the American occupation. Suffice it to say that all parties and careful observers are agreed that these accomplishments have been notable and highly beneficent in character. (See the article by R. Nelson Fuller in April *CURRENT HISTORY*.) The fact that the opposition in Haiti admits this has in no sense lessened its bitter resentment because of the political events just narrated.

Haitian opponents of the American occupation placed little confidence in the Hoover investigating commission and proposed to boycott the hearings. When reassured of the commission's intention to solve the Haitian problem, the opposition subsided and hearings were begun on March 1, and through the mediation of the commission a complete formal agreement for the re-establishment of representative government in Haiti was signed by President Borno and responsible leaders of the Haitian Opposition on March 15. That night the commission left for the United States. The short stay of the commission in Haiti suggests the possibility that the investigation may have been largely a formality to justify a new Haitian policy already decided upon by the Department of State; or, that the danger of an armed revolt in Haiti was so acute that hurried action was necessary.

Among the witnesses before the commission was Pierre Lespinasse, a former Cabinet member, who declared that what the Haitians had been trying to



Map of the Caribbean Sea, showing the geographical position of Haiti

build up in the way of a distinctive civilization "the American soldiers have been trying to tear down in the past fifteen years." Antoin Regal, chairman of the Federated Committee of Patriotic Societies, told the commission that "the Council of State does not represent the nation. The members are nominated by Russell. It is Russell who is the real ruler of the country. The present President is only a puppet. The Council of State passes without discussion every law submitted by the High Commissioner. If the coming elections are made by the Council of State American machine guns will plunge all Haiti in blood." This statement was corroborated by Simon Pradel, chairman of the League of National Constitutional Action: "The dictatorship has been possible only by the support of American bayonets and by the secret agreement entered into by Borno and Russell on the very night when Borno was elected President. The people would not accept the election of Borno's successor by his Council of State. Rather than live under a régime elected by the Council of State in a gesture of despair they will offer their breasts to machine guns."

Dantes Bellegarde, noted economist, former Minister to France, and former member of The Hague Court made the charge that "the Council of State in 1926 adopted a new tariff act consisting of fifty-one articles and raising the

taxes on many essentials, and increasing the cost of living. It was adopted as it was written by the Americans in one hour without discussion."

Georges M. Léger, a distinguished historian and lawyer, presented to the commission a proposed course of action that would provide for the gradual withdrawal of American forces and would prevent a crisis that was threatened by the scheduled election on April 14 of Borno's successor by the Council of State; the essentials of this plan were later adopted. Léger also said in part: "No sensible Haitian will deny that material progress has been made under American intervention. But \* \* \* the Americans have \* \* \* put this country back morally \* \* \* We have now less knowledge of self-government than we had in 1915. \* \* \* We have the feeling that the price we paid for material accomplishments has been entirely beyond their own value."

On March 5 the correspondent of *The New York Times* reported that the danger of a revolt in Haiti, in case the United States did not prevent the election of Borno's successor on April 14 by the Council of State, was brought most forcibly before the commission. On March 7 Archbishop Conan of the Catholic Church in Haiti in a formal statement subscribed to by the Catholic hierarchy, told the commission that Haiti was jealous of liberty and had

not had true independence since the entry of American forces in 1915. He added: "The clergy will rejoice with all their hearts when the present situation is ended." The same day Mme. Brun-Ricot, a spokeswoman for a patriotic society of Haitian women, in expressing opposition to the election of Borno's successor by the Council of State, told the commission: "It would be a calamity. You would have to turn your machine guns on us women \* \* \* All the women of Haiti feel as I do. We will not abandon our men \* \* \* We too will die."

High Commissioner Russell on March 14 laid his prepared defense of the American occupation before the commission. This was not made public, but it was reported to consist of a detailed reply to the charges made by Haitians against him and of a summary of the benefits the occupation had conferred upon Haiti.

Before the commission left Port au Prince to visit the interior it was unofficially reported on March 8 that the establishment of a provisional government when President Borno's term ended on May 15 had been recommended to President Hoover. Next day the commission announced that President Borno had approved this plan. Subsequently some excitement was occasioned by rumors that he had repudiated his promise. The agreement signed on March 15 by him and the opposition leaders through the mediation of the commission contained the following provisions: Eugene Roy, a non-partisan business man, was to be elected by the Council of State on April 14 as Borno's successor, assuming office as temporary president on May 15. By him popular elections are to be called for members of the Senate and Chamber of Deputies, the Congress then to elect a permanent President in accordance with the Constitution.

An Assembly of People's Delegates composed of thirty-four delegates from all parts of Haiti met in Port au Prince on March 20 and approved, amid scenes of intense emotion, the choice of Eugene Roy as temporary President. Roy pledged himself to carry out the plan of the commission and thanked President Borno for his cooperation. Subsequently he received an ovation from 50,000 street demonstrators. Several days later President Borno was reported to have told the Prefects throughout Haiti that the Assembly of People's Delegates had violated the agreement recently reached when they were alleged to have "elected" Roy temporary President instead of simply confirming the Chief Executive's choice of Roy as a neutral candidate for the regular election to be held by the Council of State on April 14. Excitement among the opposition groups was eased when on March 25 First Secretary Grummon of the American Legation called on M. Léger, the legal adviser to the Federated Patriotic Groups, and gave assurances that there was no possible chance of frustrating the Hoover commission's plan for electing a neutral temporary President.

From Washington it was unofficially reported on March 28 that President Hoover had adopted the recommendations of the commission, namely, recognition of the provisional government of Roy; gradual withdrawal of the marines and substitution of diplomatic relations for the present military commission headed by Brig. Gen. Russell. In taking this action President Hoover could have given no better concrete evidence of a liberal and friendly policy toward the republics of the Caribbean area. Its general effect may well be calculated to improve profoundly the relations between the United States and the Latin-American neighbors on this continent.



# A MONTH'S HISTORY OF THE NATIONS

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## INTERNATIONAL EVENTS

By *JAMES THAYER GEROULD*

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY, CURRENT HISTORY ASSOCIATE

**T**HOUGH the attempt to conclude a five-power treaty on naval armaments, such as was aimed at by the London Conference, ended in failure, a highly important agreement was reached by the United States, Great Britain and Japan, which will go far toward reducing the burden of naval expenditures by those three nations and toward aiding the cause of world peace. This agreement was achieved on April 10 and officially announced that evening by Prime Minister MacDonald, being followed next day by a statement by President Hoover, in which he expressed pleasure at the results obtained at the London Naval Arms Conference and analyzed the saving to the United States in naval costs effected by its decisions. Although the substantial gain was the three-power agreement, it was embodied in a five-power pact, since there were matters on which France and Italy agreed apart from the larger issues, on which their attitude prevented the conclusion of what would really have been a five-power agreement.

The nations whose representatives met in London, despite the covenant and the Pact of Paris, were very far from being free from the habit of thought in which war is the final arbitrament. In other words, they were still governed by fear.

As the weeks went on, it became increasingly evident that tons and guns were no more than pawns in the game. It was the political factors that counted; and if these could not be brought into some harmony, the result of the conference would have been nothing more than a face-saving subterfuge as far as all five powers were concerned. These factors were exceedingly complex. The conference was made up of only five naval powers, but any agreement it might reach had to take into account the potentialities represented by Germany, by the Soviet Union and by certain smaller powers, and it had to be capable of relation later to a possible solution of the problem of air and land disarmament. The fact that the United States refused to be associated with the political system represented by the League introduced another and a still more difficult complexity. We wish to keep ourselves free from "entanglements," but that we are actually entangled needed no other evidence than our presence in London. We may fail to admit the responsibility that runs along with power; but the responsibility remains, even though we may attempt to deceive ourselves by denying it.

Throughout all of the discussions in London during the last month, the political problem constantly reappeared and pushed the talk of tons and guns

aside. Suggestions of various sorts were brought forward and examined. In the French official statements last December, in Tardieu's speech at the opening of the conference and frequently thereafter, it was made perfectly clear that some effective agreement of this sort would be necessary if France was to reduce her requirement of tonnage to a point at which Great Britain can maintain, without enlargement, the program to which she gave tentative assent on the Rapidan.

After the Cabinet crisis, which compelled their absence during three weeks, the French delegation returned to London on March 6. Two days later Briand issued a statement, in which he declared that France "remains as she has repeatedly declared herself, ready to consider favorably any form of agreement for mutual guarantee of security, the effect of which would be to transform the absolute requirement of each power into relative requirements." M. Briand is too much of a political realist not to have been perfectly aware that the demand for "security" would not and could not be granted by the American delegation. Public opinion in the United States will never insure for France the position she secured for herself at the Versailles conference. Provided France can secure from Great Britain some sort of a guarantee in the Mediterranean, she is willing to accept from the United States nothing more than an agreement to consult in case of a threatened violation of the Pact of Paris. France did not insist that this agreement should be incorporated in a five-power treaty, but was willing to accept it as an adjunct to the Kellogg pact, or even in the form of a Presidential proclamation declarative of our purpose, on similar occasions, to follow the precedent set in the Manchurian affair.

On March 9 Mr. MacDonald broadcast a speech, which was in effect an appeal to the American people to agree to some form of consultation. He made it quite clear that he did not expect from us active cooperation in the set-

tlement of disputes, but that he did hope for a passive attitude that would not hinder the other powers in their attempt to do so.

The opinion within the American delegation as to the expediency of a political arrangement seems to have been divided. It was reported at first that a single member opposed it, then that the delegation was almost evenly divided, but the statement issued on March 11 seemed finally to dispose of the possibility. The United States, they said, could not agree to a consultative pact, since consultation inevitably carried with it an implicit obligation to act in accordance with its results. This, the delegates insisted, would be contrary to our national policy. The analogy to the Franco-British entente, which the statement cited as an evidence of the danger of such a consultation, was not a particularly happy one. The proposal was clearly analogous to that accepted in the Pacific pact of 1921; it was with a group of nations, rather than with a single one, and it would not be accompanied with a series of secret military engagements, such as those that came to light after 1914.

The immediate effect of this statement was very discouraging; and particularly so, as the following day, Mr. MacDonald felt constrained to inform M. Briand that Great Britain found herself unable to undertake to increase her international obligations; or, in other words, to take part in any Mediterranean agreement. M. Briand refused to be disheartened and stressed the universal desire to do away with war. On March 16 the French and the British Prime Ministers spent most of the day together in conference at Chequers. The communiqués they issued after their talk were noncommunicative, but from the happenings during the next few days, it was evident that they determined to make a renewed effort to arrive at a political agreement, to endeavor to bring the French and the British figures as to tonnage nearer together, and, with the

Americans, to produce a formula that would satisfy Italy's demand for parity.

The Italian problem was attacked first. Grandi was approached and he agreed to discuss with Mussolini any figures that the conference might suggest; 600,000 tons for the French and 500,000 for Italy are supposed to have been mentioned, but evidently they were not accepted. Then followed another period of gloom. A large part of the French delegation returned to Paris for a long week-end, and Grandi suggested an adjournment for six months, during which time attempts at reconciliation would go on. The British papers were very pessimistic; and even in Washington, where the official attitude was generally one of optimism, there was discouragement.

There was a revival of hope when, on March 26, the American delegation issued a statement to the effect that "America had no objection to entering a consultative pact, as such. \* \* \* It will not, however, enter into any treaty, whether consultative or other, where there is danger of its obligation being misunderstood as involving a promise to render military assistance or as guaranteeing protection by military force to another nation. Such a misunderstanding might arise if the United States entered into such a treaty as a *quid pro quo* for the reduction of the naval forces of another power." If the demand for security could be met in some other way, the American delegates were willing to consider the matter with an entirely open mind.

Briand returned on the same day and at once renewed his efforts to devise a formula for security that would satisfy his own countrymen, and that would at the same time be acceptable to the British. The line taken was to frame a pact, based on Article 16 of the covenant, which could be signed by Great Britain, France and Italy during the conference, and would later be open for the signature of other European countries. This article, it will be

remembered, is the one toward which the Protocol of 1924 was directed in an endeavor to define further the obligations regarding the employment of sanctions against an offender.

Meanwhile, there were rumors of a lack of complete harmony between President Hoover and the American delegation. These were vigorously denied, but the delegation felt compelled to announce, on March 28, that they could not agree on a consultative pact on the model of that in the Pacific Treaty. The pertinent provision there reads: "If the said rights are threatened by the aggressive action of any power, the high contracting powers shall communicate with one another fully and frankly in order to arrive at an understanding as to the most efficient measures to be taken, jointly, or separately, to meet the exigencies of the particular situation." In the Pacific area, our delegation argued, we have in Hawaii, in Guam and the Philippines essential interests which must be made secure; in the European area we have no such interests, and consequently the limits of our consultation must be more restricted.

The position taken by the American delegation made it necessary, before further progress could be made, for the British, the French and the Italians to agree, as between themselves, on the formula for security. There was never any difference of opinion as to the power of the Council to order, by unanimous vote, the application of economic sanctions, but the British have held that military sanctions could only be recommended. So far as they are concerned, however, as they will always be able to veto such action by a negative vote in the Council, the difference is of small importance; and Mr. MacDonald was within the truth when, after accepting M. Briand's contention, he told the House of Commons that the military obligations had not been increased. Briand then asked that, as between the members of the conference, the recommendations of the jurists for the revision of the covenant

to bring it into line with the Pact of Paris should be held immediately to be in force. To this, Mr. MacDonald was not able to agree, and it is yet to be seen to what extent France will be able to reduce her building program.

The Italians persisted in their claim of the right of parity with France. They were very polite about it, conciliatory on almost everything else, but on that they stood firm.

A ray of light broke through the gloom when it was announced on April 1 that Japan had agreed to accept the compromise worked out by Senator Reed and Mr. Matsudaira. Some details remained to be established, but there was little doubt that, if it was decided that no more than a three-power treaty could be accomplished, final agreement could be reached. Mr. Gibson's speech, broadcast from London on April 6, in which he gathered together the fragmentary accomplishments up to that date and dealt at length with the very real difficulties in the way of more rapid progress, seemed designed to prepare the American public for disappointment, but actually turned out to be the prelude to the successful termination of the efforts to bring about the important agreement between the United States, Great Britain and Japan finally reached on April 10.

Announcing this agreement, Prime Minister MacDonald said that it included "all categories of ships. The terms of the agreement \* \* \* follow very closely the figures announced last September and October during the ne-

gotiations with the United States and show a substantial reduction. \* \* \* From time to time since the opening of the conference, various points of disagreement, which had held up progress toward disarmament, have been settled, and these, it is hoped, brought together in one instrument, will be signed by the five powers. The differences in the naval requirements of France and Italy have proved intricate and have not so far been resolved." He added that there was an understanding "that France, Italy and ourselves shall continue efforts to come to an agreement in unison with that which has been reached by the United States, Japan and ourselves." It was stated that the results of the conference would be embodied in one document, consisting of three chapters, the first containing matters on which all five nations were in agreement, the second containing the three-power limitation pact between the United States, Great Britain and Japan, and the third providing for the continuation of discussions for the purpose of settling the difference between France and Italy so that they might eventually become parties to the limitation scheme.

A. V. Alexander, First Lord of the Admiralty, on April 11, estimated that the saving to Great Britain from the three-power agreement up to 1936 will be more than \$300,000,000. "I think," he said, "that in such circumstances it is futile for any one to describe the conference as a failure."

## President Hoover's Summary of Naval Conference Results

**T**HE results of the conference were summarized by President Hoover in the course of the following statement, which he issued on April 11:

I am greatly pleased with the final success of the Naval Arms Conference in London, and I have today telegraphed the delegation expressing my approval of the result achieved and my admiration for their patience and determination in an

arduous and difficult negotiation. And I wish to congratulate the delegations of the other governments for their constructive and courageous action.

The most vital feature of its great accomplishments for peace is the final abolition of competition in naval arms between the greatest naval powers and the burial of the fears and suspicions which have been the constant product of rival warship construction. It will be recalled that prior



to the three-power conference at Geneva in 1927, at which France and Italy felt obliged to decline attendance, there was naval competition in all craft except battleships, with constant international friction. Consequently, upon the failure of that conference the rival expansion received even new impulses and resulted in increased international suspicion and ill-will through the world and a steady drift to greatly increased navies.

When I initiated this negotiation it was after a critical examination of the experience before and after the Geneva conference and a determination that the causes of that failure could be met with adequate preparation and preliminary negotiation. At that time we realized, and have realized at all times since, that the particular setting of the Continental nations, because of the inseparable importance of land armies in their bearing upon naval strength, together with the political agreements that reduction of such arms implied, made a five-power agreement extremely improbable, as the United States could not involve itself in such agreements.

The French and Italian Governments have shown the utmost good-will in this conference in the endeavor, in the interest of world peace, to support the present solution just as far as they could do so, and they have joined the present agreement in important provisions.

It is difficult to estimate the precise reductions in war craft tonnage which have been brought about by this agreement because of the factor of normal replacement and additional tonnage authorized but not yet constructed. Nine battleships are to be scrapped of a total of about 230,000 tons, the replacement of sixteen or seventeen others to be deferred for six years.

The various navies in the agreement are to reduce some 300,000 to 400,000 tons of other categories in the next few years as they become obsolete—but some categories of some of them must be increased in order to come up to the standards set. The net balance will be a very considerable decrease in the world's actual tonnage as it stands today.

The economic importance of the accomplishment can best be measured in terms of the situation developed at the Geneva conference. That conference broke down upon the feeling of the British representatives that it was necessary for them to create or maintain a navy of a total of nearly 1,500,000 tons. Their pre-war navy was much larger than this. The American delegates were not able to agree to this basis, as it implied such a huge amount of naval construction in the United States that it was hopeless to expect public support and it meant a perpetually inferior navy.

The British suggestions at Geneva were approximately:

1. Maintain the battleships as provided in the Washington Treaty, of which the British battle fleet then stood at 606,000 tons and the American fleet at 525,000 tons.

2. Aircraft carriers as in the Washington Treaty at a maximum of 135,000 tons.

3. A cruiser tonnage of about 450,000 tons in seventy cruisers.

4. Although actual figures were little discussed, the conversations appear to have indicated a destroyer tonnage of about 225,000 to 250,000 tons and a submarine tonnage of about 75,000 tons, or a total fleet of nearly 1,500,000 tons on a British basis, or 1,420,000 on an American basis owing to our inferiority in battleship tonnage through the Washington Arms Treaty.

If this fleet had been adopted as the basis of parity it would have cost the United States somewhere, upon different calculations, from \$1,400,000,000 to \$1,750,000,000 for replacements and new construction to attain it, with greatly increased maintenance costs.

The present agreement calls for parity of American and British fleets of approximately:

1. A battleship basis to each of us of about 460,000 tons, but no replacements for the next six years on either side.

2. Aircraft carriers as in the Washington Arms Treaty at a maximum of 135,000 tons.

3. A cruiser basis of 339,000 tons if the United States exercises the option of the same types as Great Britain, but if the United States builds a larger ratio of the large cruisers our tonnage would be 323,000. It represents a reduction of about twenty ships in the basis of the British cruiser fleet.

4. Destroyer tonnage of 150,000 tons and a submarine tonnage of 52,700 tons each.

That is a total fleet basis of, roughly, about 1,136,000 tons (slightly less if we build the larger cruisers), as compared with about 1,700,000-ton British basis of the Geneva conference, and shows a reduction of about 364,000 tons below that basis to the United States and Great Britain and a proportional reduction to Japan. In bringing this about, the British scrap four eight-inch gun cruisers and five battleships, while we scrap three battleships, thus bringing about parity in battleships, which was not attained in the Washington agreement.

The Japanese navy under the proposed agreement will amount to something near 800,000 tons. These results are to be arrived at by scrapping, by obsolescence and by construction in some categories prior to 1936, when a renewed conference is to take place.

The cost to the United States of replace-

ments and new construction during the next six years, until the further conference, will be (under various estimates) from \$550,000,000 to \$650,000,000, as compared to a sum, as I have said, of between \$1,400,000,000 to \$1,640,000,000 to attain parity on the Geneva basis. To this latter would need be added the additional cost of maintenance and operating, which would make the saving upon the present basis, as compared to the Geneva basis, up to \$1,000,000,000 in the next six years.

The savings are not alone to the United States, but to Great Britain and Japan as

well. The total savings to the world are perhaps \$2,500,000,000 below the Geneva basis, to which the world was steadily drifting. This sum devoted to reproductive enterprise will be a great stimulus to world prosperity.

There are no political undertakings of any kind in the present treaty, except an agreement for the regulation of the conduct of submarines against merchant ships in time of war. The whole agreement is a great step in world peace and an assurance of American parity in naval strength.

## Secretary Stimson's Analysis of Limitation Agreement

THE following is the text of the address broadcast by Secretary of State Henry L. Stimson from London on April 13, in which he gave his own analysis of the results of the London Naval Arms Conference:

\*\*\* Naval limitation has formed a part of the organized effort of the world to do away with international suspicions and promote good relations. It is a new effort and has grown gradually. At the first Hague Conference in 1899, the subject of limitation of arms was one of the purposes for which the conference was called. It ended with a resolution favoring the restriction as a desirable end. At the second Hague Conference in 1907, it was considered too delicate a subject to put on the program. Naval competition was going on unchecked in those days, as it had been in one shape or another for centuries.

This particular naval race ended in the great war in 1914, and when that was over another competitive naval building race had begun. This later one included the United States. For the first time in our history, we found ourselves facing the irritations and ill-will arising from naval competition. Neither the experiences of the war nor the exhaustion which it caused prevented the world from resuming naval competition, and we found ourselves entangled in it.

Under these circumstances, President Harding called the Washington Conference in 1922 and Mr. Hughes made his historic proposals. They were historic, because they changed the moral standards of the world. Before those proposals were made, human experience seemed to indicate that naval competition was inevitable. Since that day, the conscience of the world has insisted that naval limitation by mutual agreement shall take the place of competition.

The Washington Conference achieved enough to prove that what the conscience of the world demanded was a practical

possibility. From the date of ratification of the Washington Treaty not a battleship has been laid down by any nation in the world. But though the success of that conference was great, it was not complete. Only two kinds of warships were eliminated. Cruisers, destroyers and submarines were not limited, and after the conference adjourned competitive building began in those types, a competition which bade fair to become dangerous.

The preparatory commission of the League of Nations tried again and again to agree upon methods of limitation but failed. In 1927, President Coolidge called the Three-Power Conference at Geneva, but that conference failed to reach an agreement. Yet the work of these conferences was not entirely lost, for each one gave evidence that the world believed in the principle of limitation. But each failure showed the extraordinary difficulty of reaching an international agreement upon that concern of every sovereign State, national defense, and the aftermath of each failure made it more and more evident that agreement was necessary for the good relations and stability of the world.

International irritation and ill-will, the ugly children of naval competition, began to show their heads again. At the very time when the world needed large resources to recover financially and economically from the exhaustion of the great war, the navies of the world were beginning an expensive and dangerous rivalry. It was decided to try again to halt this process. The other naval powers suggested that Great Britain and the United States should see if they could get close enough together in their figures to give assurance that the failure of Geneva would not be repeated. Long negotiations took place last Summer, culminating in the visit of Prime Minister MacDonald to the United States. Then followed this naval conference.

The problem which faced the American delegation here when it arrived was difficult and complicated. Since the Washington Treaty the United States had laid down

no battleships, no aircraft carriers and no destroyers and only three submarines. Spurred by the cruiser construction of the other nations, our Congress had instituted a cruiser program, but only two ships of that program were in the water. Our navy was ill-balanced. The end of the battleship holiday instituted by the Washington Treaty of 1922 was approaching, and most of our other ships were becoming old and approaching their normal time for replacement. The question was, should the United States replace the bulk of its navy on a competitive basis or upon a basis of limitation reached by mutual agreement with the other nations of the world. Would those other countries whose navies were in better condition than ours agree to such limitation without taking advantage of their better bargaining position? It was to the credit of faith in the principle of limitation held by Great Britain and Japan that they made no such effort.

Our principal objective when we came here was to extend the naval limitation by agreement so that it should cover all the elements of the fleet and thus complete what had been left undone at Washington, at The Hague and at Geneva. So far as the fleets of Great Britain, Japan and the United States are concerned, that purpose has been achieved. There can now be no competition between us. The relation of the fleets is fixed. Furthermore, the practice of mutual agreement has received one more successful precedent. The principle of limitation is strengthened by its successful practice. At the first meeting of the conference in January, I made this statement: "Naval limitation is a continuous process. We regard disarmament as a goal to be reached by successive steps, by frequent revision and approval. Human affairs are not static but are moving and we believe improving. For that reason we believe that the sound and obvious course is to reach such agreements as may be possible now with a knowledge that they are open to revision at appropriate periods."

By our present agreement the favorable attitude of the world is made stronger than ever. The momentum of this effort will not be limited to the three powers which have actually reached a basis of agreement, but will extend also to the efforts of our friends, the French and the Italians, to achieve that goal in the future. Limitation, to be effective, must be made willingly and with confidence. We have every hope that France and Italy will eventually join in the limitation of their fleets similar to that which we have attained, but that is a result which, to be effective, must come only when each country fully realizes the advantages which will follow. As I have thus pointed out, the main purpose for which this conference was called was to check the dangers of competition and to

establish the mutual confidence and goodwill which come with agreement. It is this purpose which connects the conference with the great movement for world peace.

Reduction in expenditures, important as it is to each individual nation, is merely a by-product of the other and primary purpose. Moreover, reduction is a benefit, which will be increasingly realized as the nations of the world progress in the security obtained by agreement. It is only as mutual confidence develops with increasing experience that nations reduce more and more drastically their military protection. Thus, experience under the Washington Treaty in regard to battleships has been such that the nations are eager now to reduce the battleship fleets more rapidly than was thought possible in 1922. Nevertheless, it is proper for me to point out the great reductions and economies which our agreement will accomplish.

The first great economy which we shall achieve is not a reduction but a holiday or postponement in the construction of ships. Under the schedules of the Washington Treaty the United States was to lay down ten new battleships and to complete five of them within the next six years. Under our present arrangement none of these vessels will be laid down. This means that approximately \$300,000,000 which would have been spent during the next six years will not be spent. Nevertheless, this holiday will, we believe, pave the way for further economies in battleship construction. There is a strong movement under way for a reduction either in the number or the size of our existing battleships, but there is a difference of opinion among the nations concerned as to which of these methods will furnish the best avenue for this reduction. This holiday gives an opportunity to settle this question and to decide upon the method for this further economy.

In estimating the actual results from the present conference, you have doubtless read many varying sets of figures. These differences have occurred because of the different methods employed by the writers. I will, however, give you two comparisons which I think will present the fairest picture of the reductions which have been accomplished. The first is to compare the limitations which we have fixed with the lowest limitations which were entertained at the unsuccessful conference in Geneva in 1927. In 1927, the lowest tonnage figures which Great Britain would discuss for cruisers, destroyers and submarines, taken together, were 590,000 tons. In addition to this she insisted upon retaining until 1936 25 per cent of average tonnage. As against this, her tonnage in these types of ships under our present agreement will be only 541,000 tons, a reduction of over 48,000 tons. Japan has agreed to a reduction of 17,000 tons. In addition to this reduction, Great Britain has agreed to scrap immedi-

ately 133,000 tons of her battleship fleet. We are to scrap immediately 69,000 tons of our battleship fleet and Japan 26,000 tons. If you add the total reduction in the fleets of these three nations, and compare the Geneva proposals and our present agreement, there is an aggregate reduction of 345,000 tons, and this is without counting the 25 per cent of average vessels which were to be retained by the Geneva proposal.

The other comparison I suggest is between the three fleets as they stand today including ships built, building and appropriated for, and the same three fleets as they will stand in 1936 under our present agreement. There will be nine battleships scrapped but not replaced. Their combined tonnage is 230,000 tons. This number of ships is the same as the number of Japan's fleet of battleships under the treaty. Next there will be a reduction of 205,000 tons in the destroyers of the three powers. That amounts to nearly 40 per cent more destroyer tonnage than will remain in any of the three fleets in 1936. There will be a reduction of 68,000 tons in submarines, and that is nearly 16,000 tons more than will be allowed to any of the three countries in 1936.

In American cruisers there will be an actual increase under the new agreement, but this is due solely to the fact that we have been idle in cruiser building for nearly ten years and now find ourselves with less than a quarter of the normal proportion of cruisers which we should have in respect to the rest of our fleet. Therefore, in order to create a smaller but better balanced fleet than we now have and to achieve parity with Great Britain, it is necessary for us to increase our cruiser tonnage. This increase is comparatively small because the British have agreed to reduce their tonnage by twenty cruisers in order to meet us, and for the same purpose the Japanese have agreed not to increase the number of their cruisers. As a result, the total net reduction in the three fleets built, building and appropriated for is in the neighborhood of 560,-

000 tons. That reduction alone is greater than the tonnage of the total present Italian fleet.

Thus far, I have been speaking only of fighting ships. There are also, as you doubtless know, many service ships in the navy which are not classed as combatants. But in discussing economy, these ships very properly enter into the picture. In the three fleets of Great Britain, Japan and the United States, there are 220,000 tons of these ships which under our present agreement will not be replaced after they are retired for age. This means ultimately a reduction of 220,000 tons and a corresponding reduction in expense.

In our present agreement, we have reached the lowest level of limitation that I have ever heard seriously discussed, and we have reached a lower level than any of us thought could be attained when we came here. Furthermore, this conference has achieved many great moral advantages. The experience of our negotiations has made it clear that naval rivalry between the United States and Great Britain is definitely at an end. No relations could have been more frank and cordial and satisfactory than those we have had with the British delegation. The same applies to our relations with the Japanese delegation. They have shown a readiness to join in the great aims of the conference which is beyond praise. The very great improvement in the friendly relations between the United States and Japan which followed the Washington Conference will certainly be intensified and continued by this conference.

As our naval problems do not reach those of France and Italy we have not directly participated in the negotiations of those countries, but our contacts with their delegations have been friendly and we believe we have contributed to the spirit of goodwill which makes it now seem probable that they will ultimately agree among themselves and add the limitation of their fleets to our own present treaty. \* \* \*



# THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

[RECORD TO APRIL 10, 1930]

**D**URING the last month four important meetings under the auspices of the League have been in session. At the Conference for Concerted Economic Action a start has been made on the very difficult road toward limiting, reducing and perhaps abolishing European tariffs. That it is only a faltering, hesitating start is shown by the fact that the Soviet Union and Albania did not attend the conference, and that Bulgaria, Hungary, the Irish Free State, Norway, Poland, Rumania, Czechoslovakia, Turkey and Yugoslavia took part in the conference but did not sign any of the resulting treaties. Seventeen nations, however, did agree in a final act on the importance of further conference; fifteen of them went further and agreed in a protocol to a definite program of further investigation and study; and eleven agreed in the convention to maintain as far as possible the *status quo* of bilateral economic treaties and in general not to increase duties until April 1, 1931. It is definitely planned that further conferences shall be held.

*Communications and Transit*—The fourteenth session of the Committee for Communications and Transit studied the question of competition between railroads and waterways along the Rhine, heard about the troubles between the owners of the former Hungarian railroads and the officials in the new succession States, and listened to reports on calendar reform, on the Fifth Congress of the International Chamber of Commerce, and on maritime navigation. A technical committee was appointed to help the Secretary-General in the problems of the League wireless station, which is expected to be in operation at Geneva by 1931. Preliminary arrangements were made for the general communications conference to be held in 1931. The problem of free communication and transit be-

tween Poland and Lithuania is held over until September.

*Codification of International Law*—Public interest in the conference at The Hague is centred on the problems of nationality of women. On April 5 the Subcommittee on Nationality adopted four conventions, every one of which is bitterly opposed by the women's groups on the ground that it discriminates between men and women in regard to the rights of citizenship. The delegates are finding it almost impossible to agree on any constructive conventions on the problems of nationality, and they have almost given up on those of territorial waters. Of the three questions on the agenda of the conference, there remains only that of "responsibility of States for damage caused in their territory to the person or property of foreigners," and the subcommittee on this subject has not made encouraging reports. Unless substantial agreement can be reached on most of these questions, it appears that no convention will be signed.

*Women and Children*—The League Committee on Traffic in Women and Children is celebrating its tenth anniversary and is making far-reaching recommendations toward protection of women and improvement of social hygiene. It is discussing the question of abolition of all licensed houses of prostitution, abolition of age of consent, extension of women police systems and other measures. Bascom Johnson of the American Social Hygiene Association is sitting with the committee.

*Whales*—A subcommittee of the Economic Committee of the League met in Berlin April 5 and 6 to recommend international agreements for preventing the extermination of whales, and thus protecting the large capital investment in the whaling industry.

*Ratifications*—The Central European and Baltic Governments are depositing with the League several treaties indicating a gradual rapprochement among

come effective only when ratified by all the nations represented on the Council and a majority of all the nations in the League. The major change is in Paragraph 1 of Article 12, where, under the covenant as revised, the nations give up the right "to go to war after three months" and agree not to go to war at all for the solution of their disputes. In Articles 13 and 15 the words "resort to war" and "go to war" are eliminated. The only change which seems likely to cause dispute in the Council is the new paragraph attached to Article 15, Paragraph 7, which brings the Permanent Court of International Justice more clearly into the picture. This paragraph specifically states that a unanimous vote of the Council shall not be required to ask for an advisory opinion in this particular case. Some nations, especially Great Britain, may fear that this is an opening wedge to the abolition of the rule for unanimity in other Council procedure, and therefore may block it. Since the action has to be unanimous by members of the Council, this paragraph cannot be written into the League Covenant unless Great Britain will withdraw or modify her objection as voiced by Lord Cecil in the committee meeting. The following shows the present text and the proposed amendments:

PRESENT TEXT	AMENDMENT PROPOSED
<i>Preamble</i> In order to promote international cooperation and to achieve international peace and security by the acceptance of obligations not to resort to war.	<i>Preamble</i> "In order to promote international cooperation and to achieve international peace and security by accepting the obligation not to resort to war."
<i>Article 12, Paragraph 1</i> The Members of the League agree that if there should arise between them any dispute likely to lead to a rupture they will submit the matter either to arbitration or judicial settlement or to inquiry by the Council, and they agree in no case to resort to war until three months after the award by the arbitrators or the judicial decision or the report by the Council.	<i>Article 12, Paragraph 1</i> The Members of the League agree that if there should arise between them any dispute likely to lead to a rupture, they will only employ pacific means for its settlement. If the disagreement continues, the dispute shall be submitted either to arbitration or judicial settlement, or to inquiry by the Council. The Members of the League agree that they will

## PRESENT TEXT

*Article 13, Paragraph 4*

The Members of the League agree that they will carry out in full good faith any award or decision that may be rendered, and that they will not resort to war against a Member of the League which complies therewith. In the event of any failure to carry out such an award or decision, the Council shall propose what steps should be taken to give effect thereto.

*Article 15, Paragraph 6*

If a report by the Council is unanimously agreed to by the members thereof other than the representatives of one or more of the parties to the dispute, the Members of the League agree that they will not go to war with any party to the dispute which complies with the recommendations of the report.

*Article 15, Paragraph 7*

If the Council fails to reach a report which is unanimously agreed to by the members thereof, other than the representatives of one or more of the parties to the dispute, the Members of the League reserve to themselves the right to take such action as they shall consider necessary for the maintenance of right and justice.

## AMENDMENT PROPOSED

in no case resort to war for the solution of their dispute.

*Article 13, Paragraph 4*

The Members of the League agree that they will carry out in full good faith any award or decision that may be rendered and that they will not take any action against any Member of the League which complies therewith.

In the event of any failure to carry out such award or decision the Council shall propose what measures of all kinds should be taken to give effect thereto; the votes of the representatives of the parties shall not be counted.

*Article 15, Paragraph 6*

If the report by the Council is unanimously agreed to by the members thereof other than the representatives of one or more of the parties to the dispute, the Members of the League agree that they will comply with the recommendations of the report. If the Council's recommendation is not carried out, the Council shall propose suitable measures to give it effect.

*Article 15, Paragraph 7*

If the Council fails to reach a report which is unanimously agreed to by the members thereof, other than the representatives of one or more of the parties to the dispute, it shall examine the procedure best suited to meet the case and recommend it to the parties.

*Article 15, Paragraph 7 bis. (new paragraph)*

At any stage of the examination the Council may, either at the request of one of the parties or on its own initiative, ask the Permanent Court of International Justice for an Advisory Opinion on points of law relating to the dispute. Such application shall not require a unanimous vote by the Council.

themselves and with other countries. Lithuania has ratified three such treaties, Hungary six, Poland eleven. But this progress has received a setback in the flaring up of the Hungarian Op-tants question reported as settled last month.

*The World Court*—Official approvals of the amendments to the Court Statute are now rapidly coming in, the following countries having ratified: South Africa, Austria, Belgium, India, Great Britain, Denmark, and Sweden. All these countries except Belgium have also ratified the protocol of American adherence to the Court. It is hinted that Belgium and other States are hesitating to ratify this protocol until the United States ratifies. Fifteen new judges of the Court are to be elected in September. The four Americans belonging to The Hague Arbitration Panel, who will submit nominations, are Messrs. Hughes, Root, Baker and Moore. Americans who are doubtful about the technique of advisory opinions will be interested to observe that the present case before the Court—a problem of the Greco-Bulgarian Mixed Commission on Communities—is being handled exactly as a regular case submitted for final judgment. There being no Bulgarian judge on the court just now, Theodore Papazoff, formerly a member of the Mixed Tribunal, will sit for this case.

*Supervision of International Traffic in Arms*—In June, 1925, thirty-four nations, including the United States, signed a convention for supervision and publicity on international traffic in arms. Fourteen ratifications are necessary to bring the convention into action. Spain has just ratified, bringing the total number at present to eight.

*Refugees*—The Advisory Committee of Private Refugee Organizations met in Geneva on March 17 to consider especially the situation of Armenian refugees in Syria, and the progress of the Nansen Stamp Fund. This committee acts as an unofficial adviser of the High Commissioner of Refugees.

*The Bahrein Islands*—Who owns these islands—Great Britain or Persia?

A League document of last October included them in the "etc." following a list of British possessions. Persia protests "that the Bahrein Islands are an integral part of the Persian Empire, and that the claims of the British Government in respect thereof are without foundation."

*A League Emblem*—In twenty-four countries there are societies like the League of Nations Association in the United States, seeking to build up public opinion in favor of the League. These bodies are joined together in an International Federation with headquarters in Brussels. The Federation has recently held a prize competition for a suitable emblem for the League. No first prize was awarded, but from the 1,654 designs two second prizes and three third prizes were awarded.

*Optimistic Filipinos*—M. T. Boncan, a member of the Philippine House of Representatives, has been at Geneva to meet Sir Eric Drummond, the Secretary General of the League, and to study preliminary conditions for entrance of the Philippine Islands into the League when granted independence by the United States. Mr. Boncan thinks that the League's machinery would be the best protection against exterior aggression and a sufficient guarantee of the Philippines' independence.

*Liberia*—It has been strongly hinted that slavery really exists in Liberia. Liberia requested the League to look into the matter and the commission of the following three persons is now in Liberia: Arthur Barclay, ex-President of Liberia, appointed by Liberia; Dr. Charles Johnson of Fisk University, Nashville, Tenn., appointed by the United States, and Dr. Cuthbert Christy, British explorer, appointed by the League.

*Proposed Changes in the League Covenant*—Further details are now available in regard to the recommendations made by the committee of eleven jurists appointed by the Council of the League of Nations to suggest changes in the covenant of the League so as to bring it into exact harmony with the Briand-Kellogg pact. The changes be-

volve long and bitter discussion and much bargaining, the chief differences to be settled were in these rates:

	Present Rate.	House Rate.	Senate Rate.
Automobiles .....	25%	25%	10%
Aluminum, crude (lb.) ..	5c	5c	2c
Boots and shoes .....	Free	20%	Free
Cattle (lb.) .....	2c	2½c	3c
Cement .....	Free	8c	6c
Cream (gal.) .....	20c	48c	56.6c
Harness leather .....	Free	12½%	Free
Hides .....	Free	10%	Free
Logs (spruce, cedar) ..	Free	\$1	Free
Lumber, soft (1,000 ft.) ..	Free	Free	\$1.50
Milk (gal.) .....	2½c	5c	6½c
Pig iron .....	75c	\$1.12½	75c
Shingles .....	Free	25%	Free
Sole leather .....	Free	12½%	Free
Sugar cane (ton) .....	\$1	\$3	\$2
Sugar, Cuban (lb.) .....	1.76c	2.40c	2c
Sugar, world .....	2.20c	3c	2.50c
Wool rags (lb.) .....	7½c	8c	18c
Wool, scoured (lb.) .....	31c	34c	37c

Daily reports of the joint committee's progress (these bodies usually work in secret) revealed that the uncontroversial rates were being speedily settled. The chemical schedule agreed upon was in general a victory for the lower Senate rates, as was the china and glassware schedule, but the higher House rate on pig iron, given above, prevailed. The Senate reductions on automobiles and manganese were adopted, and the aluminum rate was compromised at 3½ cents. With a few exceptions, the Senate increases on farm products were accepted.

Relieved, temporarily at least, of the wearisome tariff debate, the Senate on March 24 took action on the first deficiency bill providing, besides supplementary funds for the departments, \$12,000,000 for rivers and harbors, \$100,000,000 for the Farm Board and an additional \$150,000 for the delegation in London. It took the Senate less than two hours on March 25 to appropriate \$383,000,000 for the public building program asked by the President.

The Senate next turned to the lively subject of Muscle Shoals, last heard of when Mr. Coolidge pocket vetoed the Norris bill for government development of its power resources in June, 1928. A new joint resolution was introduced by Senator Norris, who claimed that action on this important project had been foiled by the attempts of the "power trust" to lease the property for private

exploitation. The Norris resolution provided that the government manufacture electric power at Muscle Shoals and sell it at low prices to States and municipalities. The Senate passed this resolution on April 4 by a vote of 45 to 23. It was predicted that the House would do likewise and that it would be vetoed by Mr. Hoover.

The passage of the Norris resolution over the President's veto would mean a gigantic experiment in government manufacture of power. The government could make use of all the patented processes of other manufacturers in producing fertilizer and could sell electricity to the consumer at rates far below those of private power enterprises. For these obvious reasons the Norris plan has been bitterly fought by power companies for the last twelve years.

The existence of a "power lobby" has long been well known. Its activities in Washington and its attempts to "educate" the public all over the country to the advantages of private operation and control have been the subject of many investigations. The subject was again aired when the Senate committee on lobbying opportunely began an investigation of the lobbies of the American Cyanamid Company and the Tennessee River Improvement Association last February. It should be explained that a rival to the Norris plan, the Wright-Madden bill, embodies the bid of the American Cyanamid Company for the leasing of Muscle Shoals. William B. Bell, president of the company, testified before the Senate committee that \$168,706 had been spent by his company in an effort to acquire the Muscle Shoals lease. It was revealed that the American Cyanamid Company, the Federal Farm Bureau and the Tennessee River Improvement Association had waged a joint fight to defeat the Norris bill, and that the last of these had withdrawn a rival bid with a view of coming to an agreement with the Cyanamid Company, which planned to produce both power and fertilizer and sell the electric power for distribution to a power company.

A by-product of the investigation



## THE UNITED STATES

**T**HE SMOOT TARIFF bill, passed by the Senate on March 24, established two records. It was debated by the Senate six months and eighteen days—more than two months longer than any other tariff bill; and it contains the highest rate average of any tariff ever passed by the Senate. There has been only one higher tariff in American history, that voted by the House on May 28, 1929. The average ad valorem rate of the Smoot bill is 38.99 per cent; that of the House bill 43.15 per cent; that of the Fordney-McCumber bill, in force since 1922, 34.61 per cent. The comparative revenues from these three bills in 1928, the tariff commission estimated, would have been: Fordney-McCumber, \$512,567,012; House bill, \$638,998,399; Senate bill, \$577,350,613.

The Senate amended the House bill 1,253 times, increasing the rates on farm products, generally lowering the industrial rates and changing several important administrative provisions. Chief among these were the addition of the debenture (export subsidy for farmers); transfer of the flexible power from the President to Congress; Senator Norris's clause depriving monopolistic industries of protective duties and exclusion of obscene books by juries instead of by customs officials.

Thirty-one Senators voted against the Smoot bill (26 Democrats and 5 Republicans) and among the 53 who cast their votes for it there was a sad lack of enthusiasm. Senator Watson complained that the industrial rates were too low; Senator Capper, that they were too high. Senator La Follette of the opposition branded the bill "the worst in the nation's history," while Senator Smoot said it was "very, very good." As a matter of fact, the Smoot bill, in its final form was a patchwork of three conflicting tariff philosophies, each of which prevailed at different times during the drafting of the bill. The first of these was the policy of the Democratic-Insurgent group under the lead-

ership of Mr. Borah, whose proposal to limit revision to the farm schedules failed by only one vote. This bloc stood for higher rates for the farmer, industrial rates either on or slightly below the Fordney-McCumber level and three administrative changes, namely, the debenture, the new flexible provision and the monopoly clause. It stayed in power until ousted by the high protectionists, led by Senator Grundy. These high-tariff Republicans tried to compensate manufacturers for the increased farm schedules by raising the industrial rates, but unfortunately for them, the time left was too short to undo much of their opponents' work.

The third tariff philosophy represented in the bill was perhaps most clearly and frankly expressed by Senator Waterman of Colorado: "I have stated upon the floor of the Senate," he said, "and I have stated in the presence of Senators elsewhere that, by the Eternal, I will not vote for a tariff upon the products of another State if the Senators from that State vote against protecting the industries of any State, and I stand upon that platform." Tariff bills may come and go, but log-rolling goes on, and elections come round in November. In this connection, one Senator was quoted by a Washington correspondent as explaining that "it is simpler for me to change my vote than for my State to change its Senator."

When the tariff bill was returned to the House an attempt to reopen consideration of the sugar, cement, lumber and shingles rates in that body was defeated. The bill was put without delay into the hands of the joint conference which began its work of reconciling the 1,253 differences on April 2. The committee comprised Senators Smoot, Watson and Shortridge (Republicans), Simmons and Harrison (Democrats), Representatives Hawley, Treadway, Bacharach (Republicans), Garner and Collier (Democrats).

In addition to the Senate's administrative clauses, which promised to in-

was the revelation on March 19 that Claudius H. Huston, Republican national chairman and former president of the Tennessee River Improvement Association, had used funds gathered by that company for the Muscle Shoals fight to support his personal stock margins during five months in 1929. When this fact became known a storm of criticism descended on Mr. Huston. Rumors of his resignation as chairman of the Republican committee were current, but had not materialized at this writing.

The effect of all these disclosures by the Caraway committee on the Muscle Shoals bill was, in the words of one observer, "a psychological condition in which Senators and Representatives are voting, not on Muscle Shoals, but on the activities of the private power corporations." Certainly, the belligerent attitude of the committee and the critical manner in which the evidence was treated could not fail to have turned public sentiment against the lobbyists. Thus a combination of factors helped the Norris resolution—a sincere belief in government power operation on the part of some; while others were influenced by indignation against the methods of the power companies, and a fair political estimate of the trend of public opinion.

Having investigated the activities of the power companies, the Caraway committee turned its attention at the beginning of April to the prohibition lobbies. Senator Robinson, the only regular Republican member of the committee, took this opportunity to question John J. Raskob, chairman of the Democratic National Committee, as a large contributor to the Association Against the Prohibition Amendment. Senator Robinson tried without success to cause Mr. Raskob as much discomfort on the witness stand as Senator Walsh (Democrat) had caused Mr. Huston. Mr. Raskob testified that he had contributed about \$65,000 to the association, that he had done no lobbying and that his private contribution had no connection whatever with his position in the Democratic party.

That prohibition has been successful

and that it should be more strictly enforced was the gist of evidence heard during March by the House Judiciary Committee, where resolutions for the repeal and modification of the Eighteenth Amendment were pending. The high lights of the dry testimony were contributed by Horace D. Taft, brother of the late Chief Justice, and E. C. Drury, former Prime Minister of Ontario. Mr. Taft told the committee on March 19 that his brother, although against prohibition in 1918, had later reversed his ideas entirely. As evidence he read a letter written by the Chief Justice in 1928, which should be quoted here to supplement Professor Hart's statement on this subject on page 295 of this magazine. Chief Justice Taft wrote:

The solution requires a great deal of time and patience. The habits of an important section of a congested part of the country cannot be changed overnight or in years. The reform and the adaptation of society to that at which the amendment aims must be gradual. The temptation of corruption will drag it out. While looking ahead at the amendment I despaired of any success. I really think that it is possible, if we keep at it, to achieve a satisfactory result. The persistence with which the people maintain in Congress a two-thirds majority in both houses gives me much hope, and I am inclined to think that this will wear down the moderate wets to a consciousness that the only solution is pressure in favor of enforcement.

The Canadian system of government sale of liquor has been put forward as a workable substitute for prohibition by leading wets. Mr. Drury testified to the flat failure of this system before the committee on March 26. Prohibition was adopted by a number of Canadian provinces as a war measure in 1916 and 1917. The Dominion Government made the law general in 1918 by an order-in-council, which remained in effect until 1920. After this the Provinces individually enacted prohibition laws but gradually the system of government sale and control was substituted in most of them. Mr. Drury quoted figures to prove that crime, drunkenness and liquor consumption all increased under the government sale sys-

tem. "Strange as it may seem," he said, "infractions of the liquor laws increase as the strictness of these laws decreases. In periods of most strict enforcement the infractions were fewest." In Ontario, Mr. Drury testified, liquor law violations have increased fairly steadily from 7,383 under prohibition in 1919 to 245,736 under government sale in 1928.

This picture of affairs in Canada was denied by Premier Ferguson of Ontario on March 27. At the request of Representative Linthicum, in charge of wet testimony, Mr. Ferguson made a statement saying: "The best evidence of the satisfaction of the public of Ontario as to the law is shown in the result of the last election. The Province repudiated Mr. Drury's policy and returned 92 supporters of the government out of a total of 112 members of the Legislature."

The accuracy with which *The Literary Digest's* straw votes predicted the outcome of the last two Presidential elections lent a good deal of interest to the prohibition poll undertaken by that magazine. The 20,000,000 ballots sent out offered a choice between enforcement, modification or repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment. At the end of three weeks replies so far received were tabulated as follows:

State.	For Enforce- ment.	For Modifi- cation.	For Re- peal.	Total.
California....	24,150	27,086	28,742	79,978
Connecticut..	2,294	4,343	7,571	14,208
Dist. of Col..	1,342	1,636	2,694	5,672
Georgia.....	4,061	3,321	3,503	10,885
Illinois.....	30,721	40,318	59,341	130,380
Indiana.....	19,779	14,664	14,608	49,051
Iowa.....	17,812	12,298	11,449	41,559
Kansas.....	17,957	6,823	4,900	29,680
Michigan....	18,707	20,302	27,677	66,686
Minnesota....	17,661	17,530	21,896	57,087
Missouri.....	18,950	15,601	24,364	58,915
Nebraska.....	8,812	5,880	5,263	19,955
New Jersey..	15,365	26,811	43,374	85,550
New York....	42,800	88,598	139,912	271,310
N. Dakota...	2,289	2,008	2,196	6,493
Ohio.....	34,990	36,172	37,471	108,633
Oregon.....	5,109	4,176	3,173	12,458
Penn.....	31,585	34,534	64,505	130,624
S. Dakota....	2,664	2,015	1,674	6,353
Washington..	7,928	7,728	6,718	22,374
Wisconsin...	9,002	11,273	16,357	36,632

333,978 383,117 527,388 1,244,483

The majority for repeal was variously interpreted to show that the cities were ahead of the rural districts in an-

swering and that drys were obeying the instructions of Dr. Ernest H. Cherrington of the Anti-Saloon League not to vote. *The Literary Digest*, however, maintained that drys were voting, as shown by majorities for enforcement in districts known to be dry. William Seaver Woods, its editor, said in answer to criticisms of the poll: "It is being conducted on the same principles and the names obtained from the same exact sources as in the Presidential polls of 1928 and 1924. The elections showed these to be more than 95 per cent right both in regard to the popular and the electoral vote."

The epidemic of straw-voting spread to colleges with the following results: Questionnaires sent out by the Harvard *Crimson* showed that out of 24,000 students 838 favored enforcement, 11,006 were for modification and 5,589 wanted repeal of the amendment. At Princeton 79.1 per cent of the voters said that they drank, at Amherst 73 per cent, at Harvard 65.5 per cent, and at Yale 71 per cent.

Prohibition promised to be a vital if not the chief issue in the Congressional elections next November. And with primaries taking place in the Spring in various States, candidates had to make the dangerous choice between wet and dry platforms. In one of the most interesting primaries in many years, prohibition did not figure as a major issue. This was the contest in Illinois between Charles S. Deneen and Ruth Hanna McCormick for the Republican Senatorial nomination. Mrs. McCormick, Congresswoman and daughter of Mark Hanna, is the first woman ever to be nominated for the Senate. Although ostensibly, opposition to the World Court was her dominant issue, the belief was widespread that the woman's vote combined with Mr. Deneen's alleged connection with Chicago's underworld helped to give Mrs. McCormick her 200,000 plurality. Next November Mrs. McCormick, nominally a dry, will oppose former Senator James Hamilton Lewis, the wet Democratic candidate.

The World Court again entered into the month's news when President Hoo-



The Associated Press

### RUTH HANNA McCORMICK

ver gave assurances of our entry. Speaking before the Daughters of the American Revolution on April 14, he said: "There are few persons who do not agree as to the desirability and necessity of such a court as one of the additions to our methods of pacific settlements."

Edward L. Doheny, charged with bribing Albert L. Fall, former Secretary of the Interior, in connection with the leasing of the Elk Hills naval oil reserve, was acquitted on March 22. Last October a jury found Mr. Fall guilty of taking a bribe when he accepted a \$100,000 "loan" from Doheny in 1921. Now another jury found Doheny not guilty of bribery in giving the same \$100,000. Thus ended the series of sensational trials arising from the oil scandals of the Harding régime.

### THE CENSUS

Every ten years the Federal Government embarks on the gigantic enterprise of taking the census. On April 2

President Hoover's census proclamation in twenty-three languages was posted in public places throughout the country, and a great army of census takers started on their rounds of private homes. This census will form the basis of a reapportionment of Congressmen among the State, which has not been made in twenty years.

How much the income tax returns for March would shrink because of the stock market panic of last November was a matter of serious concern to the Treasury Department. The results were surprisingly cheerful. In spite of the crash and the 1 per cent reduction of taxes voted by Congress, \$559,503,703 was collected, only \$42,000,000 less than in March, 1929.

President Hoover, on March 21, appointed Judge John J. Parker of North Carolina to the Supreme Court to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Associate Justice Sanford.

Opposition to Supreme Court candidates has been bitter throughout American history, as Professor Frankfurter points out elsewhere in this magazine. In February a battle raged in the Senate over the corporation connections of Charles Evans Hughes and over the addition of another conservative member to the already predominantly conservative court. Judge Parker has also been rated as a conservative.

President Green of the American Federation of Labor appeared before the Senate committee on April 5 and said that, speaking for more than five million unionized laborers, he was opposed to Parker because of his decision in 1922 upholding the "yellow-dog" contracts in the West Virginia coal fields. "Yellow-dog" contracts are agreements making non-membership in a union a condition of employment. Judge Parker, then presiding in the Circuit Court of Appeals, upheld a decision denying the American Federation the right of persuading or inciting employees to break these contracts.

When it became clear that Senator Norris, chairman of the Judiciary Committee, was against the nomination and that the committee might refuse to rec-



ommend it to the Senate, a defense of Judge Parker was issued by the Department of Justice through the White House on April 13. The statement maintained that Judge Parker had followed a precedent of the Supreme Court and concluded that: "To refuse to con-

firm the nomination of Judge Parker for his decision in the Red Jacket Coal Company case will amount to refusing to confirm him because he followed and gave binding effect to the decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States." D. E. W.

## MEXICO AND CENTRAL AMERICA

*By CHARLES W. HACKETT*

**M**EXICO—Departing from a custom followed by Mexican Presidents since the death of Madero in 1913, President Ortiz Rubio on March 10 transferred the Presidential offices from the National Palace, in the heart of Mexico City, to historic Chapultepec Castle, located four miles away in Chapultepec Park. On March 18 he held his first reception of press correspondents since he took office. Among the matters he discussed were a proposed conference of all silver producers in Mexico to study the low price of silver; negotiations then under way with the International Committee of Bankers on Mexico for holding a general conference to study the entire financial condition of Mexico as affecting foreign creditors; his desire that capitalists should aid in furthering Mexico's rehabilitation program; and the fact that Communist leaders in Mexico having apparently realized that their activities were "contrary to law," had indicated to him that "in the future there would be no recurrence of" such activities.

The President's first official meeting with his Cabinet since his inauguration was held at Chapultepec Castle on March 21, when the subjects taken up included colonization, together with the method for obtaining financial aid, through a national credit bank, for agricultural settlers in new irrigation projects; primary education in Mexico City and intensification of the campaign against general illiteracy; regulations for the entry into Mexico of airplanes; reform of the penal code;

and further beautification of Mexico City.

Government plans for easing the industrial and economic crisis in Mexico, developed after a series of conferences between President Ortiz Rubio and the Ministers of Finance, of Communications, and of Public Works and Agriculture, were announced by President Ortiz Rubio on March 14. Items in the program include irrigation projects, on which the number of laborers will speedily be increased to 20,000; efforts to stimulate agricultural and industrial production, thereby affording increased facilities for commerce, and the adoption of measures tending to awaken private initiative; acceleration of various schemes already undertaken by the Ministry of Agriculture and Development; studies by the Ministry of Finance of a program to assure the funds necessary for these projects; mobilization under supervision of the Ministry of Industry and Commerce of the unemployed in organized groups and immediate organization of a labor bank for assisting small farmers. It was estimated some months ago that the number of unemployed men in Mexico was 300,000.

Federal legislation to limit the production, sale and consumption of alcoholic drinks; a gradual increase in the taxes on production to raise prices with a corresponding lessening of consumption; and an increase in the duties on imported alcohol and alcoholic drinks were recommended on March 9 to the National Committee against alcohol by its subcommittee on legal measures.

A recent decision of *El Excelsior*, one of Mexico City's leading dailies, to eliminate crime news, received the warm commendation of President Ortiz Rubio on March 20. He added that "it would be desirable if Mexico's entire press would second the noble effort of *El Excelsior*."

Relations between Mexico and Guatemala became strained late in February when Guatemalan forest guards pursued Mexican chicle gatherers into the Mexican State of Campeche and subsequently attacked them. The Guatemalan Embassy in Mexico City on Feb. 26 said that the Guatemalan guards were unaware that they were on Mexican territory, since the boundary is not marked at that point. Mexican Foreign Minister Estrada replied that the Mexican Government could not accept the Guatemalan explanation and was willing to publish the details of the case.

President Ortiz Rubio announced on March 4 that Manuel Tellez will be retained as Mexican Ambassador at Washington.

**N**ICARAGUA—A dispatch from Managua on March 14 stated that amendments to the Nicaraguan Constitution had been introduced in the Sen-

ate which propose ratification of the National Guard as a national institution, suppression of the present system of trial by jury, full suffrage for women, prohibition of voting by illiterates, abolition of the office of Vice President and increase of the Presidential term from four to seven years. Senators would serve for nine years, Deputies for six, Supreme Court Justices for nine and Justices of the Courts of Appeals for six years. The amendments, if acted upon favorably, cannot become operative for eight years.

**D**OMINICAN REPUBLIC—An agreement looking toward liberal free elections on May 16 was reached by Provisional President Urena, the presidents of the Senate and the House, and responsible party leaders. A policy of financial retrenchments was also adopted.

Investments of Americans in the Dominican Republic at the end of 1929, according to a survey prepared by Dr. Max Winkler, totaled \$29,548,000. These figures compare with \$4,000,000 in 1913, and represent an increase of 600 per cent in sixteen years.

[For developments in Haiti see Professor Hackett's article, pp. 347-352.]

## SOUTH AMERICA

By HENRY GRATTAN DOYLE

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**T**HE clearing of the international skies in South America became a reality with the signing on April 4 at Montevideo of an agreement between Bolivia and Paraguay as to the manner in which the exchange of Forts Boquerón and Vanguardia should be carried out. At the same time it was unofficially announced that the long-awaited resumption of diplomatic relations between the two countries would take place on May 1. Credit for the progress made in the negotiations for the return of the two

forts—apparently an indispensable first step in the settlement of the Gran Chaco dispute—is largely due to the Government of Uruguay and to the Uruguayan Foreign Minister, Señor Domínguez. Under the terms of the agreement, the Government of Uruguay will assign to two army officers, Major Quintero and Major Irizar, the task of supervising the reconstruction of Fort Vanguardia by the Paraguayans. Upon completion of this work, Bolivian troops will evacuate Fort Boquerón, which will be returned to Par-

aguay in exchange for Fort Vanguardia, thus restoring the status quo of December, 1928, when the present active phase of the dispute began.

Progress toward the settlement of other boundary disputes is indicated in reports from several South American countries. It is well known that President-elect Olaya Herrera of Colombia is in favor of an early rapprochement with Ecuador, with which Colombia has not enjoyed diplomatic relations since 1924, when the two countries severed relations because of a boundary dispute. A joint Colombian-Venezuelan boundary commission is establishing the boundary line between Maracaibo and the Goajira Peninsula. Peru and Ecuador have begun negotiations for the settlement of their boundary questions. A noteworthy record has been made by Brazil, the boundaries of which touch every South American country except Chile, and which within the past few years has put into effect nine treaties relative to boundaries.

Resumption of large-scale loans to South American countries is indicated in recent financial reports. The Federal Government of Argentina has recently placed with a group of American bankers a loan of \$50,000,000, following closely upon a loan to the province of Buenos Aires of \$8,000,000. Almost immediately came the announcement of a loan of \$100,000,000 to the State of Sao Paulo in Brazil by an international group in which American and British bankers are largely represented. The loan is designed to stabilize the coffee situation.

Establishment of airmail service to South American countries has been paralleled by the inauguration of direct radio telephone connection with Argentina, Uruguay and Chile. On April 3 President Hoover talked with Presidents Ibáñez of Chile and Campístegui of Uruguay, and on April 10 a similar conversation took place with President Irigoyen of Argentina.

**A**RGENTINA—On April 8 it was reported that the composition of the Chamber of Deputies, as a result

of the recent elections, would be as follows: Irigoyenists, 100; Opposition, 57. This is a gain of fourteen seats by the followers of the President.

On March 20 the railway dispute between owners and employes was settled by government intervention, and regular service on the railroads was resumed. The difficulties began on March 13 when railway workers began "working according to rules," following the exact terms of a government decree issued many years ago, under the provisions of which it was impossible to move the trains according to schedule. Packing houses were closed and passenger service was so delayed that infuriated passengers did much damage to rolling stock and stations, in some instances setting fire to railway coaches.

On April 5 a general strike of stevedores in Buenos Aires was declared in sympathy with the coal stevedores, who had been "out" for more than a month, completely tying up port traffic.

The new eight-hour day law went into effect on March 12, but a government decree suspended its application until Sept. 12 for railway employes, men employed in maritime services and those engaged in other public services.

Newspaper attacks on the government's failure to appoint Ambassadors and Ministers are continuing, especial attention being paid to the long period (fifteen months) during which Argentina has been represented at Washington by only a Chargé d'Affaires. The recent recall of the Mexican Ambassador is attributed to a similar failure to appoint an Ambassador to Mexico. United States Ambassador Bliss is now in the United States on leave.

**B**RASIL—Latest figures on the recent elections in Brazil give the successful candidate, Dr. Julio Prestes (Conservative) 1,093,027 votes to 666,152 votes for Dr. Getulio Vargas (Liberal). Dr. Prestes carried seventeen of the twenty States, as well as the city of Rio de Janeiro. The vice presidential candidate, Dr. Vital Soares, won over

his Liberal opponent, Dr. Joao Pessoa by about the same majority.

As an aftermath of the elections, it was reported that four persons were killed in a political shooting affray at Bello Horizonte, State of Minas Geraes, on April 4. President Pessoa of the State of Parahyba has become involved in a political dispute with Deputy Jose Pereira, who has established himself in the town of Princeza with a reported force of 1,500 men. The President of the neighboring State of Pernambuco, Estacio Coimbra, has refused permission for the State police of Parahyba to enter Pernambuco for the purpose of attacking the forces of Deputy Pereira. Princeza is situated on the border of the two States.

Brazilian coffee-growers are turning their attention towards wheat as a possible substitute for coffee. Brazil imports both wheat and flour in large quantities from Argentina and the United States.

Over 100,000 immigrants entered Brazil in 1929, of whom approximately 38,000 came from Portugal, 16,000 from Japan, 9,000 from Poland, 5,000 from Italy, and 4,500 from Spain.

On March 14 the National City Bank of New York, appealed against the fine of \$3,000,000 levied on its Sao Paulo branch on February 25. The penalty was imposed by the Brazilian inspector-general of banks because of alleged fraudulent exchange transactions, the fine representing 50 per cent of the amount involved. The bank maintains that the speculation was carried on by its exchange manager on his own account, and that he has been dismissed.

**BOLIVIA**—On March 13, the new Bolivian Cabinet assumed office with the following roster:

RAFAEL TORRICO LEMOINE—Foreign Minister.

GERMAN ANTELO ARAUZ—Interior and Justice.

MANUEL MIER LEON—Finance.

RIGOBERTO M. PAREDES—Agriculture, Commerce and Communications.

EMILIO VILLANUEVA—Education.

FIDEL VEGA—War and Colonization.

Señor Vega had been Minister of the

Interior in the previous Cabinet which resigned on March 2. No reason for the Cabinet's resignation was given.

An official announcement by the Ministry of the Interior on April 9 declared that the Presidential elections had been postponed in order that the government's efforts to find a solution for the serious problems facing the country might not be hampered by the political agitation of a Presidential campaign.

Four thousand miners in the tin mines of the Oruro district have been laid off during a period of depression in the tin market.

**COLOMBIA**—President-elect Olaya in a recent speech indicated the following as essential points in his policy: A tranquil political situation; encouragement of foreign capital; an orderly and economical fiscal policy; support of the coffee crop situation.

Dr. Olaya has had interviews with the Minister of Finance and the president of the Bank of the Republic since his election. Among the economy measures adopted is a cut of 1,000 men in the army. Other reductions of expenses are in process. Government income for January and February indicates a probable loss of 20,000,000 pesos for the year. As evidence that there is realization of the situation, although President Abadia Méndez's term has some months to run, members of all three major parties appear to have agreed on a "Concentration" Cabinet in which all should participate, and there have been suggestions that the President might himself resign, so as to give a coalition government a freer hand. On April 4 the old Cabinet resigned, and the President began conferences with representatives of all three groups. At the time of writing the new Cabinet had not been announced.

**CHILE**—On April 2, the Electoral Qualification Board ruled that candidates for Congress would be declared elected upon presentation of proof that they were the only candidates from





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their respective districts. This action is in accordance with the electoral law passed during the administration of President Alessandri. Candidates are nominated by agreement among the various parties in proportion to their numbers, only one candidate being named in each district. In case of dispute between party leaders as to the candidate to be named in any district the Minister of the Interior acts as an arbitrator.

Chile has reduced her army materially, in consequence of the settlement of the dispute with Peru. Formerly all citizens reaching the age of 20 had to serve one year in the army or navy. Under the new measure only 30 per cent of the population of that age will be called for compulsory military service.

Farm relief promised in official statements issued on March 26, took the form of loans by the Agricultural Credit Bank, a reduction in freight rates on farm products to seaports,

large purchases by the army for future needs, and the loan by railroads of warehouses for the storage of farm products. A Presidential statement declared that the financial situation was never better, with a budget surplus of 77,000,000 pesos. Chilean bonds are selling on the New York Exchange at prices relatively higher than those of the last few years. The manager of the Central Bank in an interview on March 25, declared that unemployment was practically non-existent in Chile, owing to construction of public buildings and public works.

The resignation of Osvaldo Koch as Minister of Justice was accepted on April 5.

Chile has created an under-secretaryship of Aviation, attached to the Ministry of the Interior. Commander Arturo Merino Benitez has been appointed to the post. He will supervise the development of commercial aviation as well as the amalgamated army and navy air service.

**E**CUADOR—Communist plans to organize a demonstration in Guayaquil on March 20, were frustrated by the arrest of a number of agitators, including five employees of the government printing office.

After attacking and wounding three members of a party of government tax appraisers and collectors a mob of Otavalo Indians on March 30, razed the home of an informer and threatened to capture the town of Agaton.

Minister of Finance Saenz insists that Harry L. Tompkins, an American, who is Ecuador's Superintendent of Banking, be fined three months' pay for alleged disrespect and insubordination. This case was appealed last year and has been pending since. Mr. Tompkins asserts that the government broke its contract with him by non-payment of his salary since March, 1929, and that he should not be fined by the Minister because he is not a ministerial employee. Mr. Tompkins was one of the experts who assisted in the Kemmerer financial survey of Ecuador, and con-

tracted with the government upon its recommendation.

**PARAGUAY**—In opening the sessions of the national Legislature on April 2, President José Guggiari read his message, in which he pledged Paraguay's faithful compliance with the agreement for the adjustment of the dispute with Bolivia over the incidents of Dec. 5, 1928. The President declared that the activities of the Communists, who had taken advantage of the international situation to foment internal disorders, had made it necessary to declare a state of siege, which is still in effect. According to the President, the economic situation of Paraguay has not suffered because of the difficulties with Bolivia. The Presidential message also advocated the establishment of a Central Bank for the purpose of stabilizing the currency.

Luis Riart, former President of Paraguay, has been named Paraguayan Minister to the United States.

**PERU**—The good feeling between Peru and Chile following the Tacna-Arica settlement was manifested during the recent visit of ships of the Peruvian Navy to Santiago, where officers and sailors received a popular welcome and high honors at the hands of the Chilean Government.

On March 28, the Ministry of Public Works issued a decree establishing the

court of arbitration to consider the claim of Bertram Lee, growing out of cancellation by the government of his concession, granted in 1928. The decree set April 30 as the date of the first meeting of the court.

**URUGUAY**—The strike of telephone workers in Montevideo, which had been under way for several weeks, was settled by a Parliamentary commission on March 27. Under the terms of the agreement the companies may suspend or discharge employees as business conditions require, but such employees are to receive 30 per cent of their salaries.

It was reported on March 26 that Uruguay was negotiating with American bankers for a loan with which to retire several outstanding foreign issues.

**VENEZUELA**—A strike of street car employes in Caracas which began on April 2 has been attended by some disorder. The system is owned by British capitalists.

Petroleum production in the Maracaibo district is reported much curtailed because of the fall in price of crude oil in the United States. The national production of oil for 1929 was greatly increased, amounting to 137,388,270 barrels as against 105,523,000 barrels for 1928 and 119,000 for 1917, the first year in which Venezuela entered the world market.

## THE BRITISH EMPIRE

By *RALSTON HAYDEN*

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**D**ESPITE THE London naval conference and the situation in India, the British people have clearly shown during the past two months that they recognize the partial breakdown of their economic system not only as the major political problem of the day but as a condition that threatens the very foundations of their present social order. The steady

increase in the number of the unemployed, the growing distress in the cotton trade, and the increased number of idle ships have been the most conspicuous current symptoms of an economic depression that some fear may end in collapse. In the House of Commons the subject has been almost continuously under discussion. The earnestness and the magnitude of the government's ef-

forts to deal with the problem have by their lack of success merely emphasized the seriousness of the situation. The press has seemed to reflect a general expectation that once the naval conference was out of the way, definite accomplishments would be required of the MacDonald Ministry. The unwillingness of the other parties to combine to overthrow the Labor Government and thus assume responsibility for its burdens, has indicated, however, that they recognize that here is a problem that no government can solve within the immediate future.

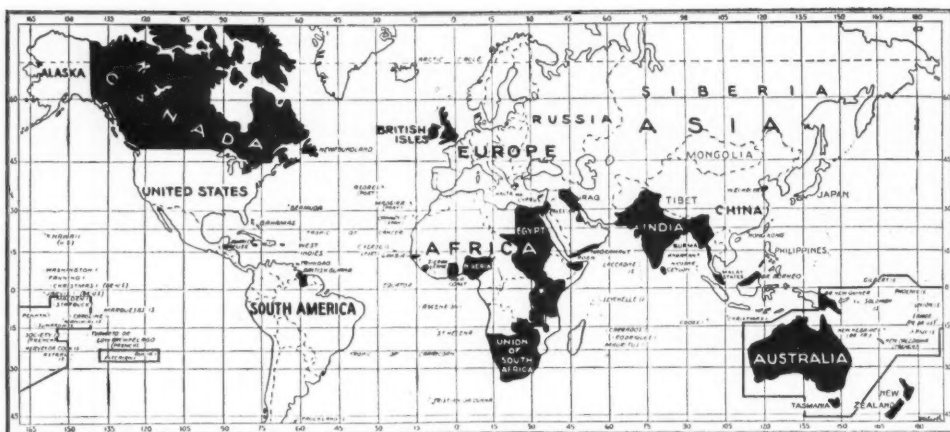
The most definite and dangerous result of the economic stagnation which Great Britain is suffering was revealed by the unemployment figures of March and April. On March 3 it was officially announced that the unemployed among the insured persons between the ages of 16 and 64 totaled 1,387,332. At that time the Labor correspondent of the *London Times* declared the increase thus indicated to be "very disturbing." By March 25 the number had risen to 1,621,800, almost 500,000 more than a year previously. Commenting upon these figures the Labor statisticians expressed the opinion that the country was passing through a period of trade depression more intense than any since the catastrophic collapse of 1921. A week later (by April 1) 17,042 more unemployed had been added to the list, which was then more than 500,000 larger than on April 1, 1929.

During March special attention was drawn to the distress of the cotton trade. On March 27 the House of Commons was told by Lancashire members that the depression there was the worst since the American Civil War. One-fourth of all the operatives, 400,000 men and women, were said to be jobless, more than 100,000 having been dropped during the month. The more rapid adoption of automatic machinery in other countries than in Great Britain was indicated as a contributing cause, while exports have declined one-third since the war through Japanese competition in the Eastern markets and the operation of the Indian tariff. The tex-

tile industry was not the only one showing heavy losses, however, as the report of the Board of Trade for February showed a decrease in exports of \$30,000,000, as compared with those of the previous month, with one exception. Indeed, exports were the lowest of any month since December, 1926.

The political repercussions of the economic depression were diverse in their nature. After long and bitter debate and many close divisions, the government's coal bill finally passed the House of Commons on April 3. In the end the Liberal party gave a negative support to the measure by not voting. The bill had proved to be the most contentious piece of legislation of recent times, and difficulties connected with its passage had more than once threatened to end the life of the government. On March 11 a Conservative amendment was carried against the Ministry by a majority of 8, but the alteration was not a vital one, and Mr. MacDonald did not resign. Two days later a Conservative motion of censuring the government for the continuance of the trade depression was defeated by 73 votes. The support of 19 Liberals and Conservative abstentions gave Labor this new lease on life.

Mr. MacDonald and his colleagues, however, were subjected to a new attack on March 26, this time from their own supporters. At a meeting of the Parliamentary Labor party, despite Ministerial remonstrances, the government was directed to bring forth within two weeks new plans to alleviate unemployment, and a fourteen-day time limit was attached to the ultimatum. Two days later Miss Margaret Bondfield, Minister of Labor, appealed to the House of Commons for authority to borrow \$250,000,000 instead of \$200,000,000 for the use of the unemployment insurance fund. Announcement was later made of increased expenditures on roads and other public works. The general economic depression was reflected at the end of the government's fiscal year on March 31. Instead of the surplus of \$20,000,000 that was budgeted for by Winston Churchill, the pre-



The British Empire (portions marked in black). Egypt and Iraq, independent kingdoms, are largely under British control

vious Chancellor of the Exchequer, Philip Snowden, his successor, was faced with a deficit of \$72,000,000.

Despite the discouraging developments of the past few months, Mr. MacDonald's genuine national leadership in both foreign and domestic affairs has not yet been successfully challenged. It still seems to be generally recognized that he is dealing with problems that require time for solution, and there is a disposition to give him every opportunity to show what his party can accomplish. He has already set in motion many forces that may ultimately produce results. He has brought a new spirit and applied a new technique to the solution of the problems involved in securing the cooperation of capital and labor and in modernizing Great Britain's economic organization and equipment. The very magnitude and diversity of his labors and the intensity with which he has applied himself to them have won for him admiration and sympathy.

Great Britain's decision as to whether a tunnel should be constructed under the English Channel was brought one step nearer on March 14 by the presentation of the report of the committee of engineering experts, bankers and business men, appointed a year ago by the government, that such a tunnel would be "an economic advantage

to Great Britain." Among the conclusions of the committee, the following are of especial interest: It appears probable that the geological and engineering difficulties could be overcome; the estimated cost is \$150,000,000; the tunnel should be built, maintained and operated by private enterprise at a cost which would permit traffic rates not higher than those now in force on the short Channel route. One member of the committee dissented from the views of the other four members, declaring that the psychological and other advantages of the present physical detachment from the Continent should not be sacrificed or the Channel shipping jeopardized. The report was referred for consideration to the Committee on Imperial Defense.

An important statement on Great Britain's commitments to France in 1914 was made by David Lloyd George (at that time a member of the British Cabinet) in the House of Commons on April 7, 1930. In the course of a discussion of the negotiations supposed to be in progress with France concerning that country's demand for more security as the price of reducing her naval tonnage, Mr. Lloyd George said: "It is very important that we should know what we are being committed to because these commitments are matters of peace and war. There has been a



good deal of discussion as to whether or not we were committed in 1914. If we were, we were committed to something which was very vague, but where it was a question of honor, whether there was a real commitment or not, we gave the benefit of the doubt to the others. We do not want those conditions to arise again. We do not want any commitment by which the French will assume we have incurred certain obligations which we did not intend to incur. Therefore, to use the only wording of any formula or proposal put forward by the government may be a matter of most calamitous consequences to this country later on."

**THE IRISH FREE STATE**—The fall of President William T. Cosgrave and his colleagues of the Executive Council of the Irish Free State on March 27 and their triumphant return to office six days later served chiefly to emphasize the position that the present government has gained in the confidence of the people. The Cosgrave Cabinet, which has been in power for eight years, resigned when the Dail Eireann, by a majority of two votes, carried against the government an amendment which would have materially increased the benefits paid by the pending old-age pensions bill. After almost a week of manoeuvring, during which the Fianna Fail party of Eamon De Valera made every effort to effect a combination that would enable it to gain control of the Dail, Mr. Cosgrave was re-elected President of the Council by a vote of 80 to 65. Labor voted with the government, after having failed to elect its own candidate for the Presidency. On March 3, the day after his return to power, President Cosgrave secured confirmation, by the same vote, for the reappointment of all his former Cabinet Ministers. The distribution of parties in the Dail is as follows:

Cumann-na-Ghaedheal (Cosgrave's party)	63
Fianna Fail (De Valera's party)	57
Labor party (O'Connell's)	13
Independents	11
Farmers' party (allied with Cosgrave's)	6
National League	2
The Speaker	1
Total	153

On March 27 the Dail approved the report of the recent London conference on Dominion legislation. Patrick MacGilligan, Minister of External Affairs, characterized the findings of the conference as "the most important constitutional document submitted to the Legislature since the Anglo-Irish treaty." The proposals of the report, Mr. MacGilligan said, would eliminate the last vestiges of central rule in the government of the Empire and insure that "the powers of the Parliament of any Dominion are equal to the powers of the Parliament of the United Kingdom." Even the leaders of the Fianna Fail agreed that the conference had improved the position of the Dominions.

**CANADA**—The legal exportation of liquor from Canada for shipment into the United States in violation of Federal and State laws will be terminated by a bill which passed the Canadian House of Commons on March 25. The measure proposes to amend the export law to prohibit clearance of liquor to any country in which the sale of liquor is prohibited. It was introduced by Prime Minister Mackenzie King, and although violently criticized by individual members of the House, received the support of all parties, and finally passed by a vote of 162 to 11. In introducing the bill the Prime Minister declared that its purpose was to prevent even the apparent countenancing by government officials of anything that approximated smuggling. "Criminal gangs are engaged in the liquor smuggling business," he declared. "It is a gigantic, organized, criminal business. Should the government permit its officials to facilitate it? I think that a question of this kind answers itself. As Minister of External Affairs it is my duty to advise Parliament of any dangerous international situation which exists. The situation with respect to rum-running is a perilous one. The matter is one of grave concern. Members of this Parliament are lawmakers and not lawbreakers, and I challenge any member of the Commons or the Senate to rise in Par-

liament and approve the business of running rum into the United States." Answering the chief objections raised against the proposed legislation Mr. King declared emphatically that the step was not being taken at the dictation of the United States, and that the argument of loss of revenue was not to be weighed against the protection of officials from criminal association.

Widespread interest was aroused by the report rendered to the Legislature on March 13 by the Ontario Liquor Control Commission. The sales conducted by the commission during 1929 amounted to \$55,360,569, the profits being \$9,661,448. The commission declared that in Ontario the day of the big bootlegger had ended. "He is regarded as the common enemy," they said. Drunkenness and other evils arising from the abuse of liquor were admitted to exist under the Ontario method of control, but they apparently were regarded as being inevitable under any system. In public addresses Premier G. Howard Ferguson declared that Ontario's present plan, "generally, morally and economically, is the solution, at least for the Province, of the vexing liquor question."

The eight-hour day and fair wages for all workers employed directly or indirectly by the Canadian Government were virtually assured on March 31 when the Minister of Labor announced an order in council providing for the eight-hour day, with Saturday as a half holiday, for its own employees, supplementing a resolution previously introduced to insure fair wages and hours to the employees of contractors on government work.

**A**USTRALIA—"The highest tariff barrier in the world," in the opinion of some economists, went into effect in Australia on April 4. Prime Minister J. H. Scullin, head of the present Labor Government of the Commonwealth, declared in laying the new schedules before Parliament that through them "Australia intends to show the world that she will meet her obligations, although it means a sacri-

fice." Other legislators declared that the measure constituted "the boldest and gravest experiment in economics and finance perhaps in the world's history." The new tariff apparently will afford Australian producers as complete protection as could be given by anything short of an embargo upon the importation of goods produced at home. It was expected that American trade with the Commonwealth, which in 1929 amounted to \$150,000,000 worth of goods sold to and \$43,000,000 worth purchased from Australia, would be greatly reduced by the act.

In structure the new tariff barrier is so unusual as to give justification for the statement that it is a "bold and grave experiment." Approximately 100 articles, chiefly prepared foodstuffs, agricultural implements and other manufactured goods, are excluded from importation except by written permission from the Minister of Foreign Trade and Customs. A very large group of other manufactured articles are to be admitted only up to 50 per cent of the quantity imported during the preceding year. Another group will not be rationed, but will be taxed 50 per cent more than last year. And certain other goods will be subjected to both rationing and the 50 per cent tariff surcharge.

The general election held in the State of South Australia resulted in the defeat of the government at the hands of the Labor party. Labor won 26 seats, the Liberals 17 and the Country party 2. In the previous Legislature the Liberal-Country party coalition held 28 seats and Labor 16.

A referendum was held in the State of Victoria on March 29 on the question whether hotelkeepers and others should be deprived of their licenses to sell alcoholic liquor between specified hours. The proposal was defeated by 552,286 votes to 419,005.

**S**OUTH AFRICA—The appointment of a commission to inquire into the economic and social conditions of the natives of South Africa was announced by the Government of the Union on

March 21. The investigating body will inquire into the effect of the existing legislation regulating wages and conditions of employment and the effect of the presence of natives in the towns upon the non-native colored population. It will also estimate what proportion of the public revenue is contributed by the natives, directly or otherwise, and what proportion of the expenditure is necessitated by the presence of the white population. The proposed survey, which is the first investigation of the kind since 1904, is regarded as an important step toward a solution of the native question, the most difficult problem now facing South Africa.

The Parliamentary and provincial franchise will be extended to all white women in South Africa if a bill introduced on March 3 by Prime Minister Hertzog is passed by the Legislature.

**I**NDIA—Developments in the procedure for determining the fiscal relations between Great Britain and India that may have greater ultimate importance than the elaborately staged defiance of British authority by Mahatma Gandhi, are revealed in the circumstances in which an increased protective tariff upon cotton goods, including those of British origin, has been levied by the Government of India. Under the Fiscal Autonomy Convention, when the executive and legislative branches of the Indian Government are in agreement, their authority over the Indian tariff is not limited by the Government of Great Britain. Before the introduction of the Indian budget on Feb. 28 the Government of India had deemed it necessary to assist the depressed cotton manufacturing industry of India by increasing the cotton duties from 11 to 15 per cent. Such action could not fail to have a very serious effect upon the Lancashire cotton manufacturers, who are already in a desperate condition. When the proposed increase was brought to the attention of the London authorities a request was made that India take into account the serious reactions that the proposed tariff would have in Great Britain. This

request came, not from the Secretary of State for India, the authority in London through whom directions to the Government of India are issued, but from the British Government itself. In other words, the British Government dealt with the Indian Government in this matter as with an equal.

To the British appeal the government of India replied that it wished to avoid unnecessary injury to British interests and that, though it could not modify the general application of the 15 per cent revenue duty, it would make proposals to give British goods preference. After extended and at times acrimonious debate the Indian Legislative Assembly passed the cotton duties in substantially the form proposed by the government. Upon learning what had been done the president of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce and chairman of the Joint Committee of Cotton Trade Organizations issued a statement, in which he declared that the increase in the duties would be "nothing less than a calamity for Lancashire." In Bombay, on the other hand, the new duties were received with satisfaction. It was thought that with the protection against both British and Japanese competition thus afforded the Indian textile industry would stand a good chance of recovering its prosperity.

The "civil disobedience" campaign of the Indian Congress against British rule in India was launched on March 12, when Mahatma Gandhi, accompanied by some eighty followers, set out on foot from Ahmedabad to the Gulf of Cambay for the purpose of making salt in violation of the laws of India. After a comparatively uneventful march of twenty-five days, the party arrived at its destination on April 6, and at once proceeded to produce salt from the sea water. The act was, of course, symbolic and was the signal for violation of the salt laws in many parts of the country. Although many of the lawbreakers were arrested, the government had not at this writing interfered with Gandhi himself in any way.

# FRANCE AND BELGIUM

By OTHON G. GUERLAC

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AS WAS to be expected, the second Tardieu Ministry which started its stormy career on March 5, has not had an easy existence. The majority that sustained it at its first appearance several times deserted the colors and the Cabinet suffered a number of minor defeats on motions where no vote of confidence was asked. M. Tardieu stated humorously that he would not wage battle except on grounds where he was sure to win and that he did not intend to fall into the traps laid for him by an Opposition that never ceased to be relentless. The usual partisanship was manifested in several debates where passions were at fever heat.

The opponents of the Cabinet won on March 13 what they considered a signal victory by obtaining, against the wishes of the Premier, free tuition for day pupils in all State secondary schools. The majority for the Opposition was of four votes only, but it was increased later to thirteen. M. Herriot, who spoke feelingly in favor of a measure which he considers as a first step toward the single public school system on the American plan, stated that this measure of great democratic significance was of little financial import, for in the so-called paying lycées and colleges a pupil pays only one-seventh of what he costs the State.

This defeat was compensated, however, by a majority of 60 on a question that seemed to arouse also the criticism of the Senate: the increased number of under-secretaryships that M. Tardieu has added to his Cabinet, giving it a membership of thirty-four. The finance commission proposed a motion that a Cabinet should never exceed twenty-five members. This motion was lost. On that same issue, two weeks later, before the Senate, M. Tardieu won only by a majority of 21. The jus-

tification of the Prime Minister for his top-heavy Cabinet is the increased complexity of ministerial duties and the enormous amount of the Ministers' time that is consumed by their attendance at Parliamentary sittings.

One of the main tasks that the Cabinet had set for itself was the ratification by the Parliament of The Hague agreements, i. e., the Young plan. In this it was singularly successful. A few days before the debate began, on March 23, Deputy Marin, former Minister of the Poincaré Cabinet and leader of the largest group supporting the Tardieu Cabinet, had again rehearsed in a speech, delivered in Meaux, all the grievances of the nationalists against this last plan for the settlement of German indebtedness. He accused it of reducing French claims from 132,000,000,000 to 38,000,000,000 francs and of making the first annuities drop from 2,500,000,000 to 900,000,000 francs. He complained that France, by surrendering the Rhineland, divested herself of all guarantees and means of pressure, in case of German default. As for French interests, they were at the mercy of an international bank where France had only three members out of twenty-eight.

All these arguments were taken up again in the debate in the House, but without avail. The outstanding feature of this discussion was the insistence of the Left orators on wresting from M. Tardieu the statement that, under no circumstances, even in case of voluntary failure by Germany, could coercive measures of a military nature be taken. This wipes out Article 430 of the Treaty of Versailles providing for possible occupation of German soil. M. Tardieu acquiesced that in the event of France "recovering her liberty of action" she would use it only to ask for application of Article XIII of the



League covenant which calls for nothing more drastic than recourse to the procedure of arbitration.

The Deputies of the Left also pointed out that this final settlement of the vexed problem that has poisoned Franco-German relations since the treaty of Versailles was in accordance with the views of their party and that, through the irony of fate, the parties that had most consistently opposed this policy of compromise were now obliged to support it. Even the Socialists joined with the majority Conservatives in voting for the Young plan, while a few dissidents like Marin, Mandel and Franklin-Bouillon remained obdurate in their opposition. What the French nation gains, according to M. Tardieu, in addition to a priority of 81.7 per cent in unconditional payments, is that she will no longer be in the position of a creditor obliged to collect from a hard pressed or unwilling debtor. The commercialization of this debt—its diffusion among all the security holders of the world and its handling by the International Bank—relieves France of all worries, as it provides a system of guarantees resting on the economic interest of Germany herself. The Young plan won in the House by 527 to 38 on March 29, and in the Senate by 284 to 8, on April 5.

Another accomplishment of the Cabinet was the final vote by the Senate, on March 22, of the so-called "rectificatif" to the national insurance law. This "rectificatif" designates a series of amendments intended to correct the defects and eliminate the impossibilities of this social law which has been on the statute books for two years without being capable of enforcement. Thanks to the painstaking efforts of several specialists in social legislation, the national insurance law gives to French workingmen a guarantee against sickness, disability and old age similar to that which already exists in many other countries. All agree that its enforcement, which may begin on July 1, 1930, if the Chamber votes it promptly, may cause disappointments and even serious budgetary complica-

tions. In spite of all the criticisms and dire predictions made by its opponents the Senate voted it by 255 to 17.

One article of the Tardieu program could not be carried out. Due to the time spent on debates or wasted on ministerial crises, the budget was not voted for the 1st of April, which is now the beginning of the fiscal year. The Chamber completed its work only on March 13, leaving the Senate about two weeks for its task of revision. The Senate refused to be hurried and the vote of provisional monthly credits known as "douzièmes provisoires," a familiar feature of French financial history, had to be resorted to. As voted by the House the estimated revenue for the year is 50,409,000 francs and the balance over expenditures is around \$8,000,000, although there has been some controversy about this figure. An imposing number of tax reductions will become effective, among them the deduction by small shopkeepers of their wives' salaries in the counting of the income tax, the very item which caused the fall of the Tardieu Cabinet last February.

The new French automobile tariffs were adopted by the Tariff Commission of the Chamber on April 8—a protective measure raising generally the duties on foreign cars and parts. Though this will reduce the competition of American cars, it was said that the American organizations would still be able to carry on under the new rates.

It is interesting to note that in the defense of his war budget before the Senate, the War Minister, M. Maginot, stressed the reductions made in the army since 1920. The duration of the service was reduced by two-thirds, the number of the officers by two-fifths, and the number of men by one-third. The army, which counted in 1920 651,538 men, is reduced in 1930 to 440,419 men (not counting the officers, who are 27,567 in number). The military service is now of twelve months.

The floods that devastated the valley of the Garonne and its tributaries in Southwestern France during the first fortnight of March affected eleven de-

partments. The most severely hit was Tarn et Garonne, whose chief city is Montauban. The dead, first estimated at 500, did not exceed 200; 2,703 dwellings were destroyed and an area of 140,000 hectares was devastated. The work of rescue was instantaneous and efficient. President Doumergue and Premier Tardieu visited immediately the more afflicted cities. The Parliament appropriated a sum of 1,000,000,000 francs for the victims and over 35,000,000 francs were given by private subscriptions through the press, the banks and various agencies of relief.

Because of constant Bolshevik efforts to stir up revolt in French colonies—notably the recent Yen Bay insurrection in Indo-China—the French Colonial Institute on April 7 adopted a resolution urging the government to break off relations with Soviet Russia.

**MONACO**—The Principality of Monaco has been for the last year a small storm centre, in which the matrimonial troubles of Prince Pierre and his wife, Charlotte, adopted daughter of the ruler, Prince Louis, the discontent of some local elements with the administration of the Casino, and the activities of a party in favor of a republic played the main parts. The election that took place March 30 for the municipal and national councils re-elected the present Mayor, M. Marquet, and favored maintenance of the dynasty of Prince Louis, who had given signs of a desire to abdicate. It is interesting to note that the voting population of this Principality does not exceed 700.

**BELGIUM**—The Belgian Senate on April 8 ratified The Hague agreements and the Young plan by a vote of 109 to 1.

The Senate recently passed a bill regulating the composition of the jury, a problem that has been before the Belgian Parliament for eleven years. Under the law of 1869 the jury was recruited from the list of voters with special reference to their property and intellectual qualifications. Yearly lists of qualified jurors had to be estab-

lished. Since 1919 no new lists had been made and the old lists were gradually being depleted. In 1921 the Chamber voted a bill stipulating that jurors should be taken from the list of voters between the ages of 30 and 65 who are able to read and write. This system, which discarded all property requirements, was not deemed satisfactory by the Senate, but for nine years it had taken no action. This year finally it drafted and voted a bill which, if adopted by the Chamber, will give to the Belgian jury a new basis. The jurors will be chosen first from a list of voters who can read and write, and secondly from a list of citizens who have university degrees. Thus the jurors will be recruited on a democratic basis, as well as in accordance with sound intellectual requirements. Women with university degrees are not included in these lists.

The bill for the "flamandisation" of the University of Ghent voted by the Chamber came up for discussion in the Senate. The usual arguments were heard. A well-known Socialist of Flemish descent, M. De Brouckère, separated himself from his party by refusing to vote for the suppression of the French University. Two other Senators of the Liberal party stressed the impossibility for Flanders of being unilingual, and asked definite assurance that the rights of the French minorities in educational matters would be respected.

The old and vexed labor question of the Congo was again brought up in the House on March 25, by Emile Vandervelde, the Socialist leader. Reading from a report by the president of the Congo Red Cross Society, he denounced the methods of recruiting black laborers, charging that the high mortality among them is due to the treatment of them by their employers, who force them to work while in bad health. These conditions, M. Vandervelde declared, might give some State an excuse to urge the League of Nations to deprive Belgium of the Congo mandate. Premier Jaspar replied that an inquiry was under way, and that conditions had already improved.

# THE TEUTONIC COUNTRIES

By *SIDNEY B. FAY*

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THE INTENSE party feeling caused by ratification on March 13 of the Young plan and subsequently by the discussion of the budget and financial reforms for 1930, resulted on March 27, in the resignation of the Mueller Cabinet. An inter-party deadlock occurred over the problem of financing the government unemployment insurance. The Social Democrats, of which party former Chancellor Mueller is a member, refused to accept a compromise agreed to by the four other parties of the coalition government. The proposed compromise left the problem in the hands of the Cabinet and Reichstag to be dealt with in accordance with current requirements. This the Social Democrats were prepared to accept. The compromise, however, also provided that a gradual reform in the organization of the unemployment insurance be begun with other financial reforms, and this the Social Democrats were not prepared to accept. A party caucus voted overwhelmingly against the compromise and the Cabinet retired. There was a general feeling expressed in the press that the Social Democrats, bidding for the favor of the trade unions, had caused the crisis for partisan reasons.

Upon the resignation of Chancellor Mueller President von Hindenburg commissioned Dr. Heinrich Bruening, leader of the Centrist party in the Reichstag, to form a Cabinet. It was hoped that a bourgeois Cabinet of the middle parties could obtain sufficient votes from the extreme right to keep it in power. With this in view Dr. Bruening first made a bid for the support of the Nationalist party by offering to Dr. Martin Schiele, the agrarian leader, the post of Agriculture. By so doing Dr. Bruening committed his Cabinet to Nationalist demands for agrarian relief in the eastern provinces. It was accepted as certain that the Cabinet would receive the solid opposition of

206 Socialist votes, plus that of the Communists and National Socialists.

However, on March 29, Dr. Bruening submitted a Cabinet list which was confirmed on March 30, as follows:

HEINRICH BRUENING—Chancellor.  
JULIUS CURTIUS—Foreign Affairs.  
JOSEPH WIRTH—Interior.  
PAUL MOLDENHAUER—Finance.  
MARTIN SCHIELE—Agriculture.  
ADAM STEGERWALD—Labor.  
THEODOR VON GUERARD—Transportation.  
JOHANN V. BREIT—Justice.  
HERMANN R. DIETRICH—Economics.  
GEORGE SCHAEITZEL—Posts.  
GENERAL WILHELM GROENER—Defense.  
GOTTFRIED R. TREVIRANUS, Minister Without Portfolio.

This Cabinet consists of members of five of the middle parties, and includes seven Ministers of the former Mueller Cabinet. Among them is Dr. Curtius, whose reappointment commits the government to rigorous fulfillment of its international obligations. Dr. Schiele was recommended by President von Hindenburg, who was severely criticized by the press for his "unwarrantable interference." But it was hoped that the appointment of Dr. Schiele would split the ranks of the German Nationalists, who, led by Dr. Hugenberg, were prepared to oppose the Bruening Coalition Government. This actually happened. Another appointment from the Right was Dr. Treviranus, who some while ago broke away from the Hugenberg party to form the Conservative People's party. The Cabinet as formed commands 199 votes out of 491, and depends for its existence on the support of some Nationalists.

Armed with an authorization from President von Hindenburg, under Article 48 of the Weimar Constitution, to threaten dissolution of Parliament and to keep the Cabinet in power to put through legislation, Bruening presented his program to the Reichstag on April 1. His policies differed little from those of the preceding Cabinet—international bargains to be thoroughly fulfilled, relief of agriculture (a



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concession to Dr. Schiele which calls for \$100,000,000), financial and treasury reforms, and strict economy in all directions.

The next question was as to the stand to be taken by the Nationalist party. Concerted action against the new Cabinet would have resulted in the defeat of Bruening and the dissolution of Parliament. But at a Nationalist party caucus on April 2, Hugenberg's opposition policy was defeated, and on April 3 a no-confidence vote proposed in the Reichstag, by the Social Democrats, was defeated, the Nationalist deputies voting with the government.

The ensuing optimism as to the success of the new Cabinet was short-lived. Differences arose within the Cabinet over the financial possibilities of meeting the new bills. The problem was made increasingly difficult by the promised expenditures for agrarian relief. The expenditures will mean higher taxation, and there is universal complaint that taxes are already excessive. An increase in the beer tax was opposed by the Bavarian People's and Economic party. A tax on mineral water and an increased tobacco tax were rejected by the Reichstag Tax Commission. The future of the party looked uncertain, since Chancellor Bruening had demanded acceptance or rejection as a whole of the government proposals, and there seemed little chance

of Moldenhauer's program in its entirety receiving a majority.

After much talk of a Cabinet crisis over the adoption of the Young plan, ratification was voted by 265 to 150, with a considerable number of abstentions. This took place on March 13. No vote of the Reichstag has been of such importance since Aug. 29, 1924, when the Dawes plan, after long party strife, was finally approved by a vote of almost exactly the same numbers.

President von Hindenburg used his personal prestige and official position in favor of ratification. He warned the leader of the Centre party, which had offered some opposition, that if the Young plan were not ratified by a substantial majority he would dissolve the Reichstag and call for a new election. He did not feel that a slim majority in favor of ratification would secure confidence abroad as to Germany's intentions of fulfillment. He also issued a manifesto setting forth the need of a united front to carry out all Germany's obligations to her neighbors. The Reichstag later voted that this manifesto should be placarded throughout the country.

President von Hindenburg's action has evoked many sorrowful comments and some bitter personal attacks from the conservative newspapers which feel that their candidate has deserted them and gone over from the Monarchist into the Republican camp. They deplore the "new gang" of Social Democrats and Liberals by whom he has allowed himself to be advised. On the other hand, he has won the warm praise and support of the parties who were originally opposed to him. He has shown once more that he is a staunch and loyal supporter of the republic to which he took the oath of allegiance, and of the international conciliation policy, which was strongly and skillfully fostered by the late Dr. Stresemann. He has made it evident that he is determined to carry on the work of restoring Germany to her place among the nations and of adhering to the policy of financial fulfillment, so far as it is in his country's power to do so.



In fact, some of the Liberal papers go so far as to speak of him as a second Bismarck in establishing a new and solid republican Germany.

One of the chief results of the discussion and ratification of the Young plan was the resignation of Dr. Schacht, announced on March 7. His place was taken by Dr. Hans Luther, who began his duties as President of the Reichsbank on April 3. His personal popularity and prestige and his position as former German Chancellor and Minister of Finance made his selection eminently fitting and generally well-received by the press.

A "law for the protection of the German Republic" was passed by the Reichstag by a vote of 265 to 151 on March 15. It was at once signed and made effective by President von Hindenburg, and is to remain in force, unless otherwise determined, until Dec. 31, 1932. Replacing a law which expired last Summer, it aims to protect the republic from the dangers of agitation by Communists on the one hand and by the Monarchists and National Socialists (Fascists) on the other. It is hoped that it will lessen the danger of such political assassinations as that of Walter Rathenau, and that it will also lessen the frequency of the serious clashes between the police and the anti-republican elements. It provides a penalty of not less than three months' imprisonment for any one who publicly and willfully insults or agitates against the flag or constitutional form of government of the German Republic or of any of the eighteen "Lands" (States which compose the Federal Republic). The same penalty is provided for insulting or bringing into disrespect the President, government officials in their public capacity, or for praising or urging treason against the republic. It allows the police to break up any meeting in which anti-republican agitation threatens to disturb the public peace. The law is symptomatic of the widespread fear of Communism on the one hand and of reactionary elements on the other, such as that indicated in the curious "Frick affair."

Herbert Frick, after a somewhat checkered career, became a Cabinet Minister in the Thuringian Land. Thuringia is largely a wooded country with a peasant, conservative population. Frick himself is an active "National Socialist"; that is, he despises the shortcomings of the parliamentary system of government and would like something of a dictatorial or Fascist régime in which the power would be in the hands of the sympathizers with the old monarchy. It is alleged that he has used his Cabinet position in Thuringia to strengthen the Monarchist elements in the police force and in the teaching body in the schools. In view of this the National Minister of Interior, Herr Severing, wrote him a letter in February asking about his doings. Frick neither answered nor acknowledged it. On the contrary, as Thuringia's representative in the Federal Government, Frick violently opposed the ratification of the Young plan and other policies of the National Government, and was reported to have said publicly, in substance, that Herr Severing could whistle for a reply to his letter. The Minister of the Interior then wrote a second letter to Frick, complaining of his failure to reply, and adding that, until he received a reply, Thuringia would no longer receive any funds from the Federal Treasury. Inasmuch as nine-tenths of the cost of supporting the Thuringian police force comes from these Federal funds, it is to be expected that Severing will eventually prove the victor in this quarrel.

In one sense this "Frick affair" is only a tempest in a tea pot between two officials of different political views. But it has also a wider significance. It is symptomatic of the jealousy with which some of the smaller "Lands" regard the more powerful and dominating State of Prussia. Moreover, Prussia is predominantly industrial and socialistic; Thuringia is agricultural or forest territory, and consequently conservative and even to some extent Monarchist. Consequently, many of the other smaller and less industrialized regions of Germany are inclined to

sympathize with Thuringia in her conflict with the Federal Government. It is an economic and social as well as political cleavage. It involves two quite different conceptions of government. Prussia, strongly Social Democratic, wishes to extend the power and activity of the central government in the direction of a wider State socialism—more assistance to the unemployed, more government monopolistic undertakings, and more uniformity in educational questions according to Prussian, North German and Protestant notions. Thuringia, like Bavaria and some of the South German Lands, favors more what Americans would call a "States' rights" attitude. They want more local authority and less centralizing influence from Berlin.

The amazing and increasing economic development of post-war Germany was once more illustrated during March when the North German Lloyd liner *Europa* broke the transatlantic record of her sister ship, the *Bremen*. The *Europa* made the crossing from Cherbourg to New York in 4 days, 17 hours and 6 minutes. This record was eighteen minutes faster than the *Bremen's* record last October.

On the same day, March 25, that

news reached Germany of the *Europa's* success, there was announced at Bremen and Hamburg the conclusion of a pooling agreement between the North German Lloyd and Hamburg-America steamship lines. The agreement is on a strictly parity basis, to last for fifty years. The separate identities and house flags of the two companies will be kept, but other than that a super-executive board will manage the two companies as one; profits will be equally divided, so that dividends will be the same for both companies.

A law was passed in the Reichstag on April 8 providing for restrictions on the sale of liquor. There will be a nation-wide closing hour of 1 A. M.; the police may prohibit the sale of hard liquor to young boys under 18, while the sale of any liquor at all to any person under 16 is forbidden. The law will become effective on July 1.

**SWITZERLAND**—On April 7 a referendum resulted in favor of raising taxes on strong liquors and of empowering the government to take over private stills. All parties except the Communists favored the bill. The increased income to the government will be for social reform and old-age pensions.

## SPAIN, AND ITALY

By ELOISE ELLERY

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**R**ENEWED SUPPORT of the monarchy has been evident in Spain during the last month. This does not mean that the republican movement is by any means dead. For instance, *La Accion Catalana* on March 4 issued a manifesto proclaiming the principles of "Catalonianism, liberalism, democracy and republicanism." The stress of this document, however, was less on the urgency of a republic than on the cause of Catalonian autonomy. More significant was the manifesto backed by some 200 lawyers and

professional men of standing in Madrid in which they declare that the establishment of a republic is "the only means by which the people of Spain can express themselves," and that the monarchy "will always mean restrictions on freedom." The Socialists, moreover, continue to support the republican movement. In fact they claim that they are the only party in Spain which can bring the monarchy to an end.

Meanwhile, in the army, the Church and the aristocracy generally there appears to be a decided rally for the King.

The paper *El Debate*, a Jesuit organ, which at first made no comment on the sensational speech of Señor Guerra on Feb. 27, reproduced in part in the April CURRENT HISTORY, came out a few days later with the assertion that by attacking the King Señor Guerra had violated the Constitution which he claimed to defend and had therefore laid himself open to heavy penalties of fine and imprisonment. The Centro de Accion Nobiliaria, an aristocratic organization, formally condemned the recent anti-monarchical utterances and sent a message to the King proclaiming its wholehearted allegiance. Further, a movement is on foot to set apart a "monarchical adherence day" for organized demonstrations. Several thousand persons, it is claimed, have agreed to participate.

In the midst of this reaction occurred the sudden death in Paris on March 17 of the former Premier, Primo de Rivera. The body of the ex-Dictator was taken back to Spain, where he was given a State funeral with military honors. How general and spontaneous were the tributes of respect and admiration it is difficult to say, but at least the opportunity was not lost by the monarchists as an occasion for an outburst of royalist demonstrations.

The representatives of the government naturally assert that monarchy is secure. In a recent interview the Minister of State, the Duke of Alba, declared that Spain could not live without order and that the monarchy means order. He maintained that

the heart of Spain is unchanged on this question: it is overwhelmingly for its King. More than 800 years' service by my family to the monarchy and my devotion to King Alfonso is why I am a monarchist. It is natural that the republicans, whose utterances have been suppressed for six years, should have talked freely when the opportunity came. Youth everywhere must vent itself in a certain amount of revolt. That is superficial. The important fundamental is that Spain's deep-rooted monarchical traditions remain unshaken.

The Premier, General Berenguer, also belittled the republican movement. In a statement recently published he said:

I do not, however, dispute the fact of there being republicans in Spain, just as there are monarchists in many republics, but the number is very small, and the movement is limited to certain districts and social groups. It is besides of a transitory nature today as a contrast to the Dictatorship. The word "republic" has some mystic attraction for youth, as had the word "Soviet" twelve years ago. This fashion will soon vanish as did the other, and impartial observers of Spanish realities will note the scant numerical importance of republican movements. Outcries mean little. In this country, where monarchy is the rule of the day, while a republic is desired by some, it is but logical that the cry of "Viva la república" should be heard more than that of "long live the monarchy."

The same happens inversely in republics. Nevertheless, I do not wish to decry the intellectual work of any republicans. I merely wish to note the poor chances of republican success at the coming election. In fact, a part of the republican hosts consist of youths who have no right to vote, and the doctor, lawyer and publicist can vote only like the humblest peasant. For each republican intellectual—and republicans are not all intellectuals, on the contrary—there are a thousand monarchist peasants and citizens.

I have spoken with all sincerity about the republican movement in Spain and assure my readers I can see clearly, without any illusion. There is no serious menace to the ancient monarchy, and the ephemeral Spanish republic existing for half a century has too disheartening a record for republican tradition to have any weight in this country.

Monarchy is the symbol of tradition and permanency, not only in Spain but also in most other European countries. It is the rule most in harmony with the mentality of the Spanish people and interests of the world. To these impersonal observations we may add the personality of King Alfonso, his vast erudition, his gentlemanliness, his courtly manners, his knowledge of men, his irresistible, spontaneous sympathy. Thus one can understand why his Majesty is the most popular man in Spain.

Spain had the advantage, the Premier went on to say, of not being burdened by overpopulation. The economic situation, he maintained, was fundamentally sound. He promised, moreover, a return to normal government at the earliest possible moment.

As a step in this direction the King had already signed a decree on March 13 re-establishing juridical rights. No more fines may be levied unlawfully

and no homes may be searched without warrants. Another decree, permitting personal rehabilitation, gives to those who paid fines unlawfully to the former Dictator the right to claim the return of their money.

But freedom of speech is still limited. According to the policy laid down by the Attorney General in his directions to various court prosecutors, public meetings may be prohibited if likely to be made the occasion of subversive utterances, demonstrations may be checked, crimes against the State are to be severely dealt with, and prosecution of offenders takes place immediately without waiting for government authorization. Among the laws to be enforced is one banning "shouts likely to provoke insurrection or of a subversive nature" and penalizing the holding of seditious meetings. Another law provides for punishment of those helping by whatever means to foster discord in institutions or organizations of the State, or a province or town, whether civil or military, or those provoking hate or armed fights among citizens.

Other difficulties are confronting the government. People are asking when municipal and general elections are to be held, correspondents of foreign newspapers are clamoring for more freedom, and the late Dictator's program of public works is causing embarrassment. To continue it means heavy subsidies, to abandon it means heavy losses to vested interests and the increase of unemployment.

On April 8 the Council of Ministers decided to hold Parliamentary elections toward the end of the year. They also decided to grant a general amnesty to all political prisoners, which is understood to include the Catalan separatists who had been imprisoned or exiled.

On this same day a meeting of prominent republicans in Madrid was broken up by the police under the new law prohibiting speeches against the monarchy. Eight were arrested, including Señores Jimenez, Asua, L. Albornoz and especially Ortega y Gasset, brother of the noted Spanish philosopher. Gasset

was later released, but on April 10 a warrant of arrest was issued against him by the civil judge of Lerida, on the ground of *lèse-majesté* for hostile utterances made at Lerida against the King.

The Count of Romanones, former Liberal Premier, a man of great wealth and influence, who had refused to see the King throughout the six years of the dictatorship, visited the monarch on April 9 at the Royal Palace and had an hour's interview with him. Later he made the following statement:

I finally went to see the King because his actions warrant it. The dictatorship ended by a voluntary act of the King. The government continues its way toward normality. Those that were victims of the dictatorship [the Count of Romanones was fined \$62,500 by the dictatorship] will be repaid, and, above all, it is announced that in a short time the King will open the Cortes [Parliament]. I have always been a monarchist.

The new press palace, built by Spain's press association in Madrid—a great edifice defined as a skyscraper—was opened on April 7 by the King and Queen and the new Premier.

**ITALY**—The eleventh anniversary of the foundation of the Fascist movement was celebrated throughout Italy on March 23. The proceedings everywhere began with the reading of the Premier's message, which read in part as follows:

It is with profound emotion that we look back over a distance of eleven years to March 23, 1919, the day which saw the birth of the Fascist movement. Of that small but intrepid band, many have fallen in battle, but the survivors are all at their places round the victors' emblems, ready to defend them even with their blood. Round these faithful veterans there rallied in the years of trials and triumphs multitudes of Black Shirts, who marched in October, 1922, and gave the Fascist State to Italy.

In eleven years Fascism has conquered difficulties of all sorts, but many others, no less grave, still lie before us. Retrograde forces in coalition against young Fascist Italy do not disturb us. Against the unanimous will of a nation of 42,000,000 inhabitants under the Fascist régime every weapon will fail and every attempt is doomed to failure.

Let every one know we have the same



spirit, the same will and the same motto of eleven years ago, a motto which the Black Shirts proudly wrote on the bandages over their wounds. In addition, we have experience, method and a more profound knowledge of men and things.

With these intentions, we pause for one day in remembrance while Fascism enters the second decade of its life, a decade which will be more glorious and more combative than the first.

Evidence of improved relations between the Church and the Fascist régime is seen in the recent action of Secretary General Turati of the Fascist party in his order to the effect that membership in the principal Italian Catholic organization, the Catholic Action, was not in the future to be considered an obstacle to membership in the Fascist party. The Pope is reported as greatly pleased by this action.

On March 23 a decree was published abolishing the octroi system, by which tolls were levied at the gates of Italian communes on all produce coming in from the country. Its purpose is declared to be to provide for more free circulation and to lower the cost of living. In place of the octroi, taxes are

to be levied on alcohol, meat, electric light and gas, and on building materials.

The Cabinet Council, by its decision of March 12, re-established complete liberty of individuals to purchase or sell foreign currencies. This decision supersedes decrees which have been in existence for the last five years, prohibiting any one to send Italian lire abroad or to float loans abroad without the express permission of the treasury.

At the same time the Cabinet Council approved two supplementary decrees. The first of these repeals the decrees prohibiting the exportation of Italian coins or securities payable in gold. The second extends for three years the decrees granting special facilities for the making of financial commitments abroad.

Elaborate plans are being made for the celebration next October of the two thousandth anniversary of the birth of the poet Virgil. These plans include special commemorations at Mantua, where he was born; at Naples, where he was buried, and at Rome, where he spent most of his life.

## EASTERN EUROPE AND THE BALKANS

By *FREDERIC A. OGG*

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**B**ULGARIA'S relations with Yugoslavia continue to be strained over the operations of Macedonian revolutionists on the Bulgar-Yugoslav frontier. Some months ago the neighbor States, after tedious negotiations, and urged forward by Great Britain, France and Italy, concluded at Pirot an agreement under which guerilla warfare on their common borders was to be brought to an end. That both States wanted quiet, none doubted. The question was what the Macedonians would do about it; and that query was answered, almost as soon as asked, by renewed outrages

resulting in both destruction of property and loss of life.

Early March witnessed fresh outbreaks. Four Yugoslav villages were bombed in less than two weeks and men, women and children—most of them entirely innocent parties—were killed. On March 15 the Yugoslav Minister to Bulgaria, M. Nesitch, took up the matter with Foreign Minister Buroff, asking, in an unexpectedly friendly spirit, that Sofia see to it that the guilty were brought to justice. Five days later a second and more vigorous protest was lodged, and at the same time Italy added her voice to warnings

already uttered by Great Britain and France.

There was doubt whether the Bulgarian Government was really strong enough to fulfill the demands of the powers for complete suppression of all powerful Macedonian revolutionary societies. The situation was further complicated by a demand voiced in a Greek newspaper for an international commission to look into the question of whether the government is not itself powerless in the hands of the Macedonian bands. Meanwhile the Sofia authorities countered by emphasizing that thirty persons had already been arrested on suspicion of complicity in the outrages.

Italian penetration of the Balkans has reached Bulgaria. One of the forms which it is taking is the financing of Bulgarian cooperative societies for the production of silk and tobacco, mainly by the Banca Commerciale, and always on the condition that Italian machinery be used in the industries aided. In the Balkan tobacco market the Orient Tobacco Company of Rome has become an important factor.

**RUMANIA**—Because of its geographical location, as well as its precarious political past, Bessarabia is one of the few remaining channels through which Soviet Russia is able to export propaganda and import espionage reports. The country's condition since its Diet in 1919 declared for union with Rumania has been in many respects unhappy, and in early March its future international position was freshly brought in question by a speech of M. Litvinov making it clear that, despite her general anti-imperialist professions, Soviet Russia considers herself heir to Czarist Russia's claim to the province.

The weakness of open propaganda of Communist ideas as an ordinary political program was shown at the last elections, when even in Bessarabia the Communists met with a complete fiasco. The success of underground revolutionary propaganda, however, was exemplified by the recent determined but

fortunately unsuccessful Communist attempt to assassinate the Minister of the Interior, Vagda Wojvode. In these conditions Rumanian alarm—which is shared generally in Eastern Europe—at the recent passage of Russian warships through the Dardanelles into the Black Sea is entirely comprehensible.

The betrothal of Princess Ileana to Count Alexander von Hochberg was definitely broken off in early March. Much mystery surrounds the affair, but Dowager Queen Marie has publicly admitted that she somewhat impulsively allowed the engagement to be announced without taking the precautions which usually safeguard royal marriages. At the request of the British Government, the Dowager Queen and the Princess cut short a trip through the Near East lest a longer stay, especially in Palestine, should provoke unpleasant demonstrations.

**POLAND**—On March 14 the government of Casimir Bartels, after only ten weeks in office, resigned because of defeat in the Sejm by 197 to 120 votes. The cause was a no-confidence motion against the Minister of Labor, Alexander Prystor, former aide-de-camp and present intimate friend of Marshal Pilsudski. This motion was presented by the Socialists on the ground of financial mismanagement, and was supported by the Nationalist and Peasant parties as being, in effect, a censure of the Bartels Cabinet in general.

The resulting situation was peculiarly awkward in that the budget debate had not been completed, and President Moscicki was at first hopeful that M. Bartels would reconsider his decision. Waiting only long enough, however, to sign a pending treaty with Germany ending a five-year tariff war between the two countries, the Premier demanded and obtained his release. The person first selected as a successor was Professor Stanislaw Szymanski, oculist, director of a clinic at Vilna University, and of late better known as Marshal of the Senate. Starting with Pilsudski as a fixture at the War Office, he made

up one Ministerial list after another, only to find many of the persons whom he selected quite unwilling to accept conditions laid down by the Marshal. After a week of failures, Szymanski gave up, and on March 26 the President turned to Jan Pilsudski, the Marshal's brother, who also in the end failed. This was on March 29. On this date, however, the budget was passed, and the President invited Colonel Walerv Slaveek, leader of the pro-government bloc in Parliament, to form a Cabinet, which he succeeded in doing in eight hours. This Cabinet was made up in such a way as to indicate his purpose to defy the Opposition in the Sejm.

**GREECE**—On March 25 the celebration of the hundredth anniversary of the liberation of Greece from the Turkish yoke began. It is expected to continue until the end of October. The opening day found Athens and other cities in gala dress, and was marked in the capital by a solemn service in the cathedral.

Indication of the changes wrought by the years was furnished by the attendance of the Turkish Minister to Greece and his whole staff at the cathedral ceremonies. Their participation is due to the fact that President Mustapha Kemal takes the attitude that the Turkey against which Greece raised the flag of freedom in 1821 and the country over which he now rules are two different States; the former repressed liberty, while the latter proclaims it.

The specific event now being celebrated is the signing of the London Protocol of 1830 proclaiming Greece an independent State.

**HUNGARY**—The vexed question of Eastern reparations, which was thought to have been finally settled at the last Hague conference, arose again in March in such threatening fashion that the English, French and Italian Governments summoned another conference of all interested countries to meet in Paris on March 31. The difficulty which presented itself was the



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same old trouble over the Hungarian optants.

At The Hague Hungary agreed, in effect, to reimburse, largely at its own expense, its own optant citizens who had been affected by Rumanian, Czechoslovak and Yugoslav land reforms. In the negotiations at Paris which followed the Hague conference and were supposed to deal only with matters of detail, it developed that Hungary interpreted the Hague agreement to mean only that damage suits already filed by Hungarian optants against the Czechoslovak Government were to be settled out of "a fund" to which Hungary, as indicated, was the heaviest contributor. Future processes, the Budapest Government contended, must come before mixed arbitral tribunals as provided in the Trianon treaty. Czechoslovakia's contention was that all processes threatening Czechoslovak

land reform must be defrayed out of the stipulated fund.

**CZECHOSLOVAKIA**—On March 9 the *Slovak*, organ of the Slovak Clerical party, roused a storm by publishing a confidential letter which President Masaryk wrote to Father Hlinka, leader of the party, after the conviction of Professor Tuka for high treason. In the communication the President caustically reminded the Slovak cleric-statesman that he (Masaryk) liberated Slovakia, and pronounced the Clerical interpretations of the Pittsburgh agreement a forgery. He added:

I am following everything in Slovakia and know more than you think. I am older than you and have therefore the right to speak frankly. I have liberated Slovakia and she is as close to my heart as to yours. The way you are going does not promise a victory. It has been written: "Love is patient." To operate with hate against others is not the correct policy of a true leader—and above all not of a priest. You yourself admit that you do not demand autonomy for Slovakia at the present time, but only for a period when the Slovaks have become politically more mature. Therefore, it should be your concern that the voters are politically instructed, and by people who made the Pittsburgh agreement. De facto, you

have had in Slovakia autonomy since the revolution, and now you have attained all the agreements of the compact.

**ALBANIA**—On March 5 King Zogu accepted the resignation of the Cabinet of Kostaq Kotta, thanking him for his service to the State as Premier, and requesting him to continue to conduct affairs pending the formation of a new government. A reconstructed Cabinet, headed by Pandeli Evangeli, president of the Chamber, was installed on the following day. The change of Ministries resulted principally from a much-disputed arrangement under which the country's coinage is being taken over by the National Bank of Italy.

Albania, indeed, has become, to all intents and purposes, an Italian dependency. Italy dominates its foreign trade. Three-quarters of Albania's imports come from Italy; three-fifths of Albania's exports go there. It is the prospective centre of the Italian Near Eastern air services. A detailed plan for colonization by 40,000 Italians around the Koritsa has been prepared, and Italy awaits only a favorable moment to carry it out.

## NATIONS OF NORTHERN EUROPE

By JOHN H. WUORINEN

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**Q**UEEN VICTORIA of Sweden, long an invalid from a bronchial ailment, died in Rome on April 4 in the Winter home that had been her refuge every year from the rigorous climate of Sweden. Her body was taken back to Stockholm for the funeral services.

Queen Victoria was born on Aug. 7, 1862, at Karlsruhe, Germany, the only daughter of Grand Duke Frederick of Baden and the Princess Louise of Prussia. She was a cousin of the former Kaiser Wilhelm II of Germany. Her maternal grandfather was Kaiser Wil-

helm I. Her paternal grandmother was Princess Sophia Wilhelmina, daughter of King Gustavus Adolphus IV, and through him she descended from Gustaf Vasa, who led the revolt against Christian II, tyrant of Denmark, in 1521, and founded Sweden's royal house of Vasa.

She married the present King of Sweden in 1881, and ascended the throne with Gustaf V on Dec. 8, 1907.

The abolition of tithes and the admission of the clergy of the established church in Sweden to the payroll of the State on a par with purely civil servants was recommended to the government



on March 16 by a committee of experts which has been at work since 1927. In general, this proposal means improved salaries for the lower clergy, while the holders of sinecures will be deprived of the income from donations and special funds. At the present time there is no uniformity in the salaries of the Swedish clergy, so that in adjoining parishes there may be a difference of \$1,000 a year. On the other hand, the pastors of large churches in Stockholm may be paid the same amount as those in provinces where the cost of living is much lower. The new scheme also provides for retirement pensions.

A Communist disturbance took place in the First Chamber on March 5 when a member of the party distributed circulars signed by the Swedish Communist party, stating among other things that "March 6 is an international day of protest against unemployment and capitalistic rationalization." On the following day Communist outbreaks occurred in the capital. The main trouble took place outside the offices of the paper *Folkets Dagblad Politiken*, which the Communists intended to attack. The radicals were dispersed by the police; only one person was reported as having been wounded.

The Lindman Ministry received opposition on several occasions during the month. On March 8 both houses rejected the government proposal providing for increased protection for the beet sugar interests. A sop was offered to the Ministry in the form of an appropriation amounting to 3,800,000 kroner, to be used in assisting the beet sugar cultivators. The Right having accepted this grant, went on record as not having abandoned its support of a higher tariff.

Further trouble appeared on March 14, when the committee in charge of the eight-hour bill reported in favor of making the eight-hour day permanent. The government has been urging that the present law, which is only temporary, be extended for two years only. The Social Democrats and the Liberals are definitely opposed to the govern-

ment on this issue, which promises to widen the rift between the Cabinet and the Opposition. Another sore spot was disclosed by the Finance Committee when it decided, on the same day, to address a reprimand to the Ministers of Trade and Agriculture, apparently because of the appropriations for the Ministry of Trade, which the Socialists and Liberals consider excessive.

Still another indication of the Opposition trend in Swedish politics was furnished on April 1 when the question whether Sweden could not do more in the direction of disarmament was discussed by the Budgetary Commission in the Riksdag, and a Socialist motion calling upon the government to study methods of reducing the money spent on defense was carried.

**DENMARK**—The League of Nations week was begun in Copenhagen on March 8. At the opening meeting the Premier, M. Munch, delivered an address in which he surveyed the past decade and pointed out that while genuine confidence has not as yet characterized the relations of major powers, the four northern nations have succeeded in placing their relations on the firm basis of mutual trust.

It was reported on March 25 that the meeting of the Danish and Swedish cinema proprietors had adopted a resolution threatening common action against American film institutions if the present "ruinous" rental charges are not reduced.

The contemplated revision of the Danish liquor laws was embodied in the bill introduced by the government on March 21. The bill involves heavy increases in the customs rates on wines and spirits and is expected to produce 10,500,000 kroner (about \$2,814,000). It is intended as a substitute for the unpopular tax of 10 per cent on all foods and drinks served in hotels and restaurants, which produces from 15,000,000 to 16,000,000 kroner yearly.

Denmark celebrated on April 2 the 125th anniversary of the birth of Hans Christian Andersen.

On April 5 the Danish Parliament

disposed of another obstacle in the path of disarmament when it refused to approve the appointment of a commission to investigate the country's military obligations as member of the League of Nations. In rejecting the commission idea the Labor Government took the view that membership in the League does not prevent Denmark from reducing her military and naval forces at her own will.

**FINLAND**—The long drawn out negotiations for a commercial treaty between Finland and Estonia finally culminated in the signing of an agreement on March 14. The treaty represents a compromise, both contracting parties agreeing to a 33.3 per cent reduction on certain categories of goods.

The Finnish initiative concerning the suppression of liquor smuggling, which was taken in the League of Nations five years ago, led to a report on March 14, presented by a subcommittee of the Committee for Communications and Transportation. While the report fails to recommend the right of search beyond the twelve-mile limit of ships suspected of smuggling, it suggests that the Finnish Government solve the problem by direct negotiation with those nations that are not bound by the Helsingfors Convention of 1925.

An important manifesto was published in the early days of March outlining a program which the liberal elements of the country are asked to accept. Signed by a number of well-known younger liberals it proposes common effort against "fascism, nationalism, militarism and such-like blind mass tendencies which threaten to disturb peaceful development."

**ESTONIA**—The government budget for the fiscal year 1930-1931 was accepted by Parliament on March 23. In its final form it calls for 91,775,200 crowns, which represents 124,520 crowns more than the original bill.

The investigation of the activities of the Communist party, begun on March 7, continued throughout the month. It was reported on March 17 that some

twenty arrests had been made. As a result of these arrests the Labor group in Parliament has dissolved, the leaders, Kaaver and Kaar, having escaped, presumably to Russia.

The Finance Committee accepted the Finnish-Estonian commercial treaty on March 22. This action prepared the ground for final ratification by Parliament, which took place a week later.

**LATVIA**—During the early days of the month the debates in Parliament were characterized by considerable heat. On March 4 Mr. Albering, Minister of Agriculture, submitted his resignation, because of recent attacks made upon him. Also, Mr. Petrevic, the Minister of Finance, was criticized because of the affairs of the Agrarian Bank.

The Communist contention that Latvia is bound by military commitments to Poland precipitated an interpellation on March 7. Mr. Vazetis, the Minister of War, spoke for the government and assured the Saemia that no such secret agreement existed.

On April 9, Albert Kviesis, formerly Vice President of the Chamber, a member of the Peasants' Union, was elected President of Latvia to succeed Gustav Lemzals.

**LITHUANIA**—The Premier, M. Zau-nius, discussed Lithuania's foreign problems in a statement made on March 17. With reference to Poland he held that the controversy between them—the Vilna problem—cannot be settled by any technical agreements. He also expressed his conviction that Germany would not become a party to any agreement with Poland which would mean the sacrifice of Lithuania's interests. It was this inflexible opposition toward Poland, the Premier held, that was responsible for Lithuania's failure to send technical advisers to the meeting of the League of Nations' Commission on Communications. Finally, he stated that Lithuania was not satisfied with the Vasconcelos report concerning the organization of transit traffic on the Vilna, Memel, Königsberg and Libau lines.

# THE NEAR AND MIDDLE EAST

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THE Commission of Inquiry appointed by the British Government at the end of last August to investigate the causes of the disturbances in Palestine published a report on March 31. The members of the commission were Sir Walter Shaw, chairman; Sir Henry Betterton, representing the Conservative party in Parliament; R. Hopkins Morris, representing the Liberals, and Harry Snell, representing the Labor party. The commission held hearings in Palestine from Oct. 24 until Dec. 24. Mr. Snell dissented from the other members of the commission on a number of points.

The commission expressed its belief that the fundamental cause of the outbreak was "the Arab feeling of animosity and hostility toward the Jews, consequent upon the disappointment of their political and national aspirations and fear for their economic future." The Arabs fear that Jewish immigration and land purchase will exclude them economically, and that then the Jews will take political control.

The most important of the immediate causes of the outbreak was held to be the "long series of incidents connected with the Wailing Wall, which began on the Day of Atonement in September, 1928, and ended with the Moslem demonstration of Aug. 16, 1929." The most influential incident was the Jewish demonstration at the Wailing Wall on Aug. 15. Other immediate causes were "the activities of the Society for the Protection of the Moslem Holy Places and in a lesser degree of the pro-Wailing Wall committee; second, the exciting and intemperate articles which appeared in some Arabic papers, in one Hebrew daily paper and in the Jewish weekly published in England; third, the propaganda among the less educated Arab people, of a character calculated

to incite them; fourth, the enlargement of the Jewish Agency; fifth, the inadequacy of the military forces and reliable police available; sixth, the belief, due largely to a feeling of uncertainty as to policy, that the decisions of the Palestine Government could be influenced by political considerations."

The commission also presented a number of recommendations. The first was "that his Majesty's Government should consider the advisability of issuing a clear statement of policy," of which the most important point would be a strong affirmation "that the rights and position of non-Jewish communities in Palestine are to be fully safeguarded." The statement should make it clear that the government will employ all its resources to give full effect to the policy announced. Directions should be provided "more explicit than any yet given as to the conduct of the policy of such vital issues as land and immigration." There should be no repetition of the "excessive immigration" of 1925-26. Pending some form of representative government, non-Jewish interests in Palestine should be consulted as regards immigration. A scientific inquiry was recommended toward introducing improved methods of cultivation in Palestine. In any scheme of land development, attention should be given to the natural increase of the present rural population. The present tendency toward the eviction of peasant cultivators from the land should be checked. Credit facilities should be provided for the poorer cultivators.

No formal recommendation was made concerning constitutional development, but the conclusion was reached "that the absence of any measure of self-government is greatly aggravating the difficulties of local administration." The committee had recommended in December that a commission be appointed to determine rights and claims

in connection with the Wailing Wall. It now urges the appointment of such a commission and its departure for Palestine at the earliest possible moment. The Press law in Palestine should be amended so that the government might act more effectively to prevent the publication of inflammatory and exciting material. The intelligence service should be improved.

The commission recommended that the British Government "should reaffirm the statement made in 1922 that the special position assigned to the Zionist organization by the mandate does not entitle it to share in any degree in the government of Palestine." For the present there should be no reduction of the garrison in Palestine.

The commission believes that the outbreak was in no sense a revolt against British authority. When the Grand Mufti of Jerusalem encouraged the formation and fostered the activities of societies for the defense of Moslem holy places, he desired to annoy the Jews and to mobilize Moslem opinion as regards the Wailing Wall, but did not mean to incite the Arabs to disorders. His political activities did, however, contribute toward the disturbances by playing upon feelings. Charges that the Palestine Arab Executive premeditated and organized the disturbances were not proved and, "if made in relation to the actual events of Aug. 23 and the following days, are negated by the known facts." Probably individual members of the Arab Executive stirred the more ignorant Arabs up by propaganda calculated to excite them. The Mufti and the Arab Executive cannot be acquitted of blame for failing to attempt to control their followers during the week preceding the disturbances.

The commission does not find H. C. Luke, who was Acting High Commissioner during the riots, deserving of blame. It might have been a reasonable precaution to mobilize troops under his jurisdiction during the days before the disturbances. Nor does the commission blame any police officer for the failure to prevent the Jewish demonstration

at the Wailing Wall on Aug. 15. Any attempt to prevent by force the Moslem demonstration on Aug. 16 would have been "dangerous and ill-advised." Replying to the complaint that the Palestine Government was unsympathetic with the idea of the Jewish National Home, the commission commented on "the difficulties inherent in the mandate. \* \* \* It is our view that the government did discharge to the best of its ability the difficult task of maintaining a neutral and impartial attitude between two peoples whose leaders had shown little capacity for compromise."

The commission believes that Jewish enterprise and immigration were not pushed beyond the capacity of the country and "conferred material benefits upon Palestine, in which the Arab people share." But the claims and demands of the Zionists toward increasing Jewish immigration have been such as to alarm the Arabs greatly. Ordinances in 1920 and 1921 intended to prevent the eviction of cultivators failed to achieve their objects, and an ordinance of 1929 does not help the matter. "A landless and discontented class is being created." The commission considers it a matter of regret that the Arabs did not accept the plan of 1922 for a legislative council.

Mr. Snell blames the Mufti more seriously than do his colleagues. He considers that the action of individual members of the Arab Executive were known by the group and to some extent encouraged by them. He believes that the Moslem religious authorities by innovations near the Wailing Wall showed "a studied desire to provoke and wound the religious susceptibilities of the Jewish people." He holds that the Palestinian Government ought to have denied officially that the Jews had designs on Moslem holy places. This government should have been firmer in controlling the Jewish demonstration at the Wailing Wall on Aug. 15. He believes that the Arab fears of being dispossessed and dominated are exaggerated, and that in the long run the Arabs stand not to lose but to gain



from Jewish enterprises. "Jewish activities have increased the prosperity in Palestine, raised the standard of life of the Arab worker, and laid the foundations on which may be based the future progress of the two communities and their development into one State." He awards no blame to the Jews in acquiring land. He believes that the Arab animosity against the Jews "was rather the result of a campaign of propaganda and incitement than the natural results of economic factors."

Prime Minister MacDonald on April 3 issued a preliminary statement in line with the recommendations of the commission. The most important part of his declaration was a strong affirmation of intention to administer Palestine according to the terms of the mandate. Equal justice is to be provided for Arabs and Jews; "that is a duty from which it [the British Government] will not shrink and to the discharge of which it will apply all the resources at its command." The Prime Minister stated that the government was studying the recommendations of the commission with a view to dealing with the immediate causes of the outbreak and preventing its recurrence. Messrs. Baldwin and Lloyd George supported the Prime Minister's statement. The former expressed the desire that the whole matter might well be discussed later in Parliament. Mr. MacDonald said that "no time will be lost in amplifying the statement I have been able to make."

The published summary shows that the majority of the commission is inclined to place responsibility for the difficulty in Palestine not so much upon individual Arabs or the Arabs as a whole as upon the situation which results from the application of the mandate up to the present time. The provisions looking toward the establishment of a National Home for the Jews have in practice aroused among the Arabs great fears for their economic and political future. The majority further found immediate provocation for the outburst of last August in the action of the Jews on Aug. 15 in

demonstrating on the way to and at the Wailing Wall. The result of this finding of the commission has been to encourage the Arabs somewhat and in the same proportion to discourage the Jews. The fact that the Labor member of the commission showed himself less favorable to the Arabs and more favorable to the Jews modified this situation slightly.

Zionists and their friends regarded the commission's report as unsympathetic and inadequate. Certain influential Englishmen claimed that the commission had gone beyond its powers, and that it should have confined itself to a report on the immediate causes of the disturbances. By attempting to outline policies after a limited investigation, it had perhaps made further investigation more difficult. The Arabs and their friends were in general pleased with the report, though they objected to Mr. Snell's reservations and to the implied approval of the Dead Sea concessions. At Jerusalem the Jews were somewhat relieved, and the Arabs somewhat disappointed, because the report was milder than preliminary rumors had predicted. The Zionist Organization of America spoke rather bitterly of the report. The commission was accused of having passed from a judicial to a political position, and to have desired "to whitewash the Palestine administration and to make political capital against the MacDonald Government."

Fresh fears arose in Jerusalem as regards what might happen at the Moslem Nebi Musa festival, which comes at the same time as the Christian Easter and the Jewish Passover. Ordinarily from 10,000 to 20,000 Arabs visit the Holy City and march with banners and swords to a place northwest of Jericho where they believe Moses to have been buried. The British Government took special pains to provide police and troops adequate to preserve order during these critical days.

The Arab delegation which represents the so-called Arab Executive reached London on March 30. The chairman is Musa Kazim Pasha, and

with him are the Grand Mufti of Palestine, Haji Amin al Hussein, and the Mayor of Jerusalem, Ragheb Bey Nashashibi. Their chief request is for the establishment of a national democratic government in Palestine.

On the day of this delegation's arrival in London the four Jewish members of the City Council of Jerusalem resigned. The immediate reason was the refusal of the government to appoint the Jewish councilor Haim Salomon as Acting Mayor.

During the last week in March the administrative committee of the Jewish Agency met in London and elected a new executive of four members for the London office and six members for the Palestine office. A budget of \$3,500,000 was confirmed. Among the resolutions adopted, one asserted the principle that "there shall be in Palestine no domination of Jews by Arabs or of Arabs by Jews."

Trials and appeals continue in regard to the riots of last August. Five Arabs were sentenced to death in Jerusalem on March 20 for the murder of four Jews in Hebron last August. They were also ordered to pay \$5,000 indemnity to the families of the murdered Jews. The Palestinian Court of Appeals on March 11 set aside the verdict under which the Jewish policeman Hinkas was condemned to death for the murder of an Arab family at Jaffa, and sentenced him to fifteen years of penal servitude. Hinkas's counsel proposes to carry an additional appeal to the Privy Council in London, asserting that his client is innocent. The Jew Joseph Mizrachi Urphali was again sentenced to death for murder, and a new appeal was prepared. The judicial committee of the Privy Council in London rejected appeals by a number of Arabs who had been sentenced to death for murdering Jews.

The Palestinian Government on March 26 announced a plan for distributing \$500,000 in compensation for deaths in the August riots. Nothing is to be paid for the deaths of persons under 14 years of age; \$500 may be paid for persons between 14 and 18;

a maximum of \$1,250 may be paid for the killing of a man, and \$500 for the killing of a woman; wounds may be compensated for by payments of from \$25 to \$500.

The proportions of native officials in Palestine have not pleased the Jews nor the Moslems. In 1921 about 52 per cent were Christians, 22 per cent Moslems, and 26 per cent Jews. In 1929 44 per cent were Christians, 33 per cent Moslems, and 22.5 per cent were Jews. In the latter year the proportions in population were: Christians, 9.8 per cent; Moslems, 70.1 per cent, and Jews, 18.9 per cent. The proportion of Jews in the country had increased more than one-half, while their proportion of officials had been reduced. It is, of course, clear from these figures that on the basis of population the Moslems are still greatly under-represented.

**TRANSJORDAN**—The budget of Transjordan for 1929-30 is approximately \$1,700,000, of which 39 per cent is devoted to defense and public security, 3 per cent to education, and 6 per cent to public health. The Amir's Court costs about \$80,000, and the British Residence about \$40,000.

**TURKEY**—The proposal that women be permitted to vote for and to be elected as members of municipal councils throughout Turkey was passed by Parliament late in March.

With the adoption of the Latin alphabet, the transliteration of the name of the Turkish capital, hitherto written as Angora, now becomes Ankara.

A treaty of commerce and navigation between Turkey and Great Britain was signed in Ankara on March 1. It is on the basis of the most-favored nation, and its term is five years.

The Greek Minister in Ankara has received instructions to sign the agreement relating to the exchange of population, thus ending several years of dispute. It is proposed to draw up treaties between Turkey and Greece for arbitration and trade.

The Council of the Ottoman Debt

asked the Turkish Government for information regarding the reports that the government would ask for a moratorium. A reply was made inviting the council to visit Ankara and study economic conditions in Turkey with a view to advising a way out of present difficulties and, in particular, how to make payments without disturbing the rate of exchange. S. C. Wyatt, president of the council, and another member arranged to visit Ankara early in March. The delegates and the Minister of Finance announced after discussion that the finances of Turkey are not in any worse condition than previously supposed, and that the country can pay its debts. The actual contents of the delegates' report were withheld. Rumors persist to the effect that the government would not be able to meet the instalment of the pre-war Ottoman debt which is due in June. Regulations continued to be issued with the purpose of stabilizing exchange. Recent measures provide that no government institution shall put money in a foreign bank, that no checks in Turkish currency shall enter the country from abroad, and that no firms engaged in export trade shall be paid in Turkish currency. The multiplication of similar rules makes business transactions increasingly difficult. Government forecasts promise exceptional crops of tobacco, grain and fruit. The government has announced that it will give bounties to exporters. The government summoned representatives of the Turkish and foreign banks in Istanbul [Constantinople] and Ankara to consider a plan by which in a "consortium" the banks would provide a fund for the purpose of steadying exchange. The amount proposed was about \$5,000,000, of which half would be contributed by the Turkish Government. Plans also continue to be discussed for the founding of a Central Bank of the Republic. One project was to establish a capital of \$12,500,000, one-fourth of which would be provided by the government, one-fourth by Turkish banks, and one-half by foreign banks. Foreign institutions insisted upon so great a measure of control

that the Turks broke off negotiations and felt obliged to limit their plan to such capital as might be provided within Turkey.

The International Commission for the Assessment of Damage Suffered in Turkey, provided for in Paris on Nov. 23, 1923, ended its work on March 15, 1930. It was created in view of stipulations in the Treaty of Lausanne, whereby certain sums in gold transferred by Germany and Austria and the money paid in by Turkey before 1914 for two battleships which were being built in England, but which were requisitioned by the British Government, were set aside as a fund to reimburse citizens of the victorious powers for war damages. The commission received from these sources about \$25,000,000. Some 9,000 claims were recognized, to an amount of about \$44,000,000. The money in hand allowed the payment of 52½ per cent of each claim.

**E**GYPT—During the discussions in Parliament early in February a few extremists opposed holding any negotiations with the British Government. Others urged previous discussion of the plan of last Summer. In the end, only five extreme Nationalists voted against the resolution which authorized the government to negotiate.

Premier Nahas Pasha and the other members of the treaty delegation left Cairo on March 20 and reached London six days later to begin negotiations with the British Foreign Office. At the first formal meeting on March 31, two chairs were placed side by side at the head of the table for Foreign Secretary Henderson and Premier Nahas Pasha.

In presenting the budget to Parliament, the Finance Committee defended the government's policy of purchasing cotton in order to uphold prices. It could not be denied that the plan had not accomplished this, but the committee contended that without the government's help the fall in prices and the consequent loss to Egypt would have been much greater. It appears probable that the government will lose

all or nearly all of the \$10,000,000 which was invested in cotton. Of the surplus amounting to about \$200,000,000, one-fourth is invested in bonds of the Egyptian Public Debt.

In a lecture at the American University on equality between the sexes, Dr. Fakhry Farag emphasized the inferior position of women in Egypt and pointed out that this was harmful to the future of the race. The lecture was regarded as an attack on Islam, and Dr. Farag was brought to trial.

**ABYSSINIA**—About the beginning of the year internal unrest which had been continuing for some time broke out in open revolt in Abyssinia. The cause was similar to other difficulties in the East, most of which had appeared in Mohammedan lands. Ras Tafari Makonnen, who was crowned Negus (king) two years ago, had been conducting a process of modernization, which encountered the hostility of conservative groups, and especially of the supporters of the Empress Judith (Zauditu) and of the Coptic Church organization. A battle was fought on March 31, with forces estimated at 50,000 on each side. It was decided when a French aviator in the employ of Ras Tafari dropped a bomb which killed Ras Gugas Wali, commander of the rebels and husband of the Empress. On the following day the Empress died in her palace, whether from grief or otherwise is not revealed. The revolt ended with great rapidity, and Ras Tafari declared himself Emperor.

The new Emperor is expected to expedite, among other modern improvements, the completion of the dam at Lake Tsana. In the financial arrangements for the building of the dam the title is to be held by Abyssinia, and bonds will be issued to secure American capital, with guarantees of the Sudan Government to pay water taxes for fifty years. The first announcement of the proposal appeared in November, 1927, and aroused much interest in Great Britain and Egypt. Egyptians feared that the British, through controlling the Sudan, would with the help

of this dam obtain a stranglehold upon Egypt. The British objected to the granting of so large a concession as the \$20,000,000 contract for the dam to an American firm. Objections were gradually removed, with the result that now the whole plan has obtained full consent of the British Government. According to estimates, the lake discharges 3,500,000,000 cubic meters annually, on the average. The dam will store 8,000,000,000 cubic meters, which, it is expected, will make possible the supply of approximately the annual average at all times.

**IRAQ**—Premier Naji Beg as Suwaidi offered his resignation to the King on March 9. The reason alleged is that the Prime Minister came into conflict with the British authorities through a desire to terminate the contracts of certain British officials. King Feisal reluctantly accepted the resignation.

In February Parliament adopted a customs tariff law which exempted local grain from the 1 per cent export tax and levied high duties on luxuries and most imported articles. Imported building materials and machinery are exempted from duties.

**ARABIA**—At the time of the friendly meeting between King Ibn Saud and King Feisal, it appears that Sheikh Feisal ed-Dowish was turned over by British authorities to the Wahabi king. A question as regards his extradition had been raised, on the ground that the British are not accustomed to surrender political offenders who have fled from other lands. Ibn Saud affirmed that in Arabian law there is no distinction between political and criminal offenders, and Great Britain accepted his contention, apparently in order to smooth the way for the friendly meeting of the Kings. After the surrender Ibn Saud himself questioned the old sheikh, it is said, with little success. The prisoner was then taken to Riyadh, to await trial before a religious court.

Two tribes of the Syrian Desert, the Ruallah and the Al-Sabagh, fought each other recently in a bloody battle,



apparently with the defeat of the former. The French High Commissioner, Ponsot, asked the leaders of the tribes to come to a peace conference at Sueida in the Druze Mountains. The Ruallah tribe threatens, in case of an unsatisfactory outcome, to remove from the Syrian area farther south into Nejd, where in numbers at least they would strengthen King Ibn Saud.

Wahabi tribes have lately been raiding Transjordan, in spite of the efforts to make them respect frontiers.

### THE PERSIAN GULF—Captain R.

St. P. Parry in a recent lecture in London presented interesting facts about British activities in and near the Persian Gulf. An armed yacht and three sloops contain a police force whose functions are enforcement of treaties, including suppression of traffic in arms and slaves; protection of British interests in the Gulf; protection of the oil traffic from Persia, and questions relating to the air route to India. In spite of all efforts, there is a surreptitious slave trade, which brings perhaps 500 slaves from Southern Persia and Africa to Southeastern Arabia. Many of these slaves become pearl divers. Persia is claiming certain islands in the Gulf, of which the most important is Bahrein. By the agreement of June, 1928, Persia consented to the use by the British Air Service during three years from January, 1929, of Bushire, Jask and Lingah as land-

ing places, but stated that the permission might not be continued. An alternative route has been laid out along the west side of the Persian Gulf, with landing places at Shaibah, Koweit, Bahrein, Abu Dhabi, Sohar and elsewhere. Some of the Arab sheikhs object strongly to the use of their land for such purposes, even for substantial rentals. There is a transit across the sea of 226 miles from Sohar in order to reach British territory in Baluchistan. In 1927 British trade through the Gulf with Persia, Iraq and Arabia amounted to about \$90,000,000.

**PERSIA**—The ex-Shah Ahmed died at Neuilly on Feb. 27. He became Shah after his father's deposition in 1909, being then 11 years of age. He was crowned in July, 1914, and deposed in 1925. During his reign he accomplished little or nothing for his native land, and there appear to linger few regrets in the country for the disappearance of the Qajar dynasty.

The situation in Persian Baluchistan is reported to have become tranquilized. A special court has been set up to try officials who have been accused of embezzlement or malversation.

**AFGHANISTAN**—It was reported in March that King Nadir-Shah had ordered the execution of an additional fifty-seven supporters of the usurping "Water Boy," who was captured and put to death last October.

## THE FAR EAST

By ROBERT T. POLLARD

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

**WAR CLOUDS** which began to gather over China during February continued to darken the horizon in March. While details of the military alignments are impossible to analyze, the main features of the situation are reasonably clear. The "battle of words" between Chiang Kai-shek at Nanking and Yen Hsi-shan, in nominal command of the Northwest

Coalition, apparently ended in victory for the former and "loss of face" for the latter. Shanghai dispatches dated March 6 reported that Yen had resigned the position of Vice Commander of the Nationalist Military, Naval and Air Forces, which he accepted in January from the Nanking Government.

In addition to Yen, the opposition to the Nanking régime included General

Feng Yu-hsiang in the Northwest and the left wing Kuomintang radicals under Wang Ching-wei in the South. The latter were said to have completed plans for a coup at Canton which would hand the city over to Chang Fa-kwei, in command of the "Ironsides," and P'ei Tsung-chi, leading the Kwangsi faction. Canton, however, remained quiet. In the North, Feng, the "Christian General," was reported on March 18 to have arrived at Sianfu, capital of Shensi Province, where he was said to have resumed active command of his old Kuominchun forces. Two days later Japanese dispatches reported that he had started for Chengchow, strategically located at the junction of the Peiping-Hankow and Lunghai Railways, where he intended to establish military headquarters, presumably for a drive on Hankow.

Local authorities, apparently acting on orders from Yen Hsi-shan, assumed control on March 18 of all administrative bureaus and other government offices in Peiping. The transfer of authority was accomplished without resistance by the Nanking Government appointees, who were thus deprived of their posts. While the change placed the Northwest Coalition in command of the former capital, reports differed as to the significance of the move. The official Koumin News Agency at Nanking declared that Yen intended to establish an independent government, with a Cabinet including such reactionaries as Wu Pei-fu, Tuan Chi-jui and Liang Shi-yi. The independent Kuo Wen agency on March 21 reported that Yen had denied any intention of setting up a government. More recent foreign advices from Peiping (March 31) announce that Yen and Feng and representatives of the Left Wing Radicals and of the Northern faction of the Kuomintang had reached an agreement as to the composition and character of the provisional government which it is planned to organize. The report did not state whether the new government would be set up at Peiping or at Nanking.

An important factor in the North has

been the uncertain attitude of Chang Hsueh-liang, in control of Manchuria. Both Chiang Kai-shek and the Northwest Allies sent agents to Mukden during March to seek Chang's support, but without apparently modifying his decision to remain neutral in the event of hostilities within the Great Wall. On March 1 and again on March 20 the Manchurian leader telegraphed to both factions, urging a peaceful settlement of their differences and asking them to spare the country the horrors of another civil war. His second appeal was in effect an offer to mediate. Nanking expressed willingness to accept the suggestion, but Yen's answer was evasive.

Manchuria's support is almost essential to the success of any Northern coalition against the well-equipped if numerically inferior armies of the Nationalist Government. If Yen and Feng were to attack Nanking without a pledge of neutrality from Mukden, their rear would be exposed to the risk of a surprise attack. On the other hand, the Mukden authorities are undoubtedly apprehensive about renewed civil war. Last year, during the Sino-Russian controversy over the Chinese Eastern Railway, Soviet military operations against Manchuria coincided to a remarkable degree with outbreaks of civil strife in Central China. Consequently, while Nanking was fighting for its own precarious existence, Chang Hsueh-liang was left to deal alone with the superior Soviet forces of General Galen.

A Japanese dispatch from Harbin, dated March 17, reported that a detachment of twenty-nine Soviet soldiers had crossed the border into Manchuli, the western terminus of the Chinese Eastern Railway, on the pretext of serving as a railway guard. The Chinese authority at Harbin protested to the local Soviet Consul General and ordered the Chinese garrison at Manchuli to expel the intruders. The Moscow conference, which was to have attempted a final settlement of the railway dispute, has again been postponed, and the matter thus remains where it was after the signing of the Habarovsk protocol in December.

During these developments in the North, the Nanking authorities took no steps that might precipitate hostilities. Both Chiang and Yen shrank from accepting the blame for beginning war, for they have been deluged with telegrams from commercial and other organizations in the country, urging them not to burden China with another civil war. Whatever the influence of these petitions, both leaders found it advantageous to pursue as long as possible a policy of "watchful waiting." Chiang Kai-shek continued to concentrate well-equipped and well-disciplined troops along the Tientsin-Pukow Railway, north of Nanking, but made no further threatening moves.

An apparently conciliatory gesture on the part of Nanking was reported in a Shanghai dispatch of March 12, stating that the Nationalist Government now contemplated giving effect to the pledge, made by Chiang Kai-shek after the December rebellion, to reorganize the party machinery. The proposed changes promised the transfer of greater administrative power to the civilian Executive Yuan, or Council, and a broadening of its representative character by the admission of three delegates, locally designated by Kuomintang organizations, from each of the twenty-two provinces of China. Such a plan, if made effective, might help to still criticism against the alleged dictatorial and unrepresentative character of the present Nanking régime.

President Chiang's sudden departure from Nanking on March 20, ostensibly for an inspection trip in Chekiang and Southern Kiangsu, made local observers wonder whether he was giving a new sign of his reluctance to take the offensive against his Northern enemies or whether he was finding it necessary to strengthen his support in these two important seaboard provinces.

Actual hostilities were finally reported on March 31, when Shansi troops, said to number 15,000, compelled the retirement of Nationalist forces stationed north of Tientsin. Two days later Yen Hsi-shan, at Taiyuanfu,

his Shansi capital, formally assumed command of the land, naval and air forces operating against Nanking. In a public declaration he denounced Chiang Kai-shek as a dictator merely using the Nanking Government as a personal instrument. Nanking replied on April 4 by issuing a State Council mandate ordering the arrest and subjugation of the Northern commander.

The substance of Yen's declaration of war was sent on April 4 to the principal legations at Peiping. In the same communication Yen promised protection to foreigners in the territories under his control, and expressed the hope that the friendly powers would refrain from extending moral or material support to his opponent. This gave rise to a peculiar situation, for the legations are now in territory whose rulers are at war with the Nanking Government to which the foreign diplomats are accredited.

The withdrawal of Nationalist troops from Kiangsi to defend the region north of the Yangtse has seemingly left the greater part of that province at the mercy of the "Communist" bands which have been active in recent months. Acting on reports that at least eleven American Catholic missionaries, more than half of them women, were in danger from outlaws at Kanchow, the American State Department, through the legation in Peiping, requested the Chinese authorities to move troops to the relief of the city. In reply to Consul General Lockhart at Hankow, who suggested that the Americans evacuate the city without delay, Bishop O'Shea, in charge of the mission, wired that evacuation had become dangerous if not impossible, since the brigands were in full control of the surrounding countryside. American consular dispatches, dated March 27, indicated that troops had been sent to the city and that the missionaries were in no immediate danger. Advice to the American State Department, published on March 31, told of the capture by outlaws of three missionaries at Yuanchow, Western Kiangsi. Two were women, and one of them an American. All were held for

ransom. Three other missionaries who eluded capture by fleeing to the mountains arrived safely at Changsha, Hunan. A dispatch, dated April 5, from the American consul at Nanking announced that government troops had reached Yuanchow and were trying to effect the release of the captives. The brigands were said to belong to the same band which on Feb. 3 captured three Finnish women missionaries, whose fate still remains a mystery. Bishop Huntington, in charge of the American Church Mission (Episcopal) work in Kiangsi, blamed the bandit scourge less on the withdrawal of Nationalist troops than on the excessive taxation imposed by the Nanking Government on the people of the province.

A British missionary, the Rev. Yorke Scarlett, was reported on April 5 to have been murdered at Peitaho, Hopei (formerly Chihli province). The Italian government on March 4 lodged with the Nanking Government a protest and a demand for reparation for the murder of an Italian bishop, a priest and three Chinese sisters late in February in the province of Kwangtung. Bandits were again reported to be firing on steamers navigating the Yangtse above Hankow.

The Nationalist Ministry of Finance on March 29 published the report of the Kemmerer Financial Commission, which concluded its work last December. The report suggests reorganization of the currency on a gold basis, beginning with the more advanced provinces. No actual minting of new gold coins would take place; the currency would be maintained at parity by means of unlimited drafts on gold standard countries, with New York and London as the principal centres. The exclusive power to issue paper notes is to be vested in a reorganized Central Bank in China. The project also contemplates the establishment of a gold standard trust, representing at least 35 per cent of the value of coins in circulation. The

fund would be administered by the Minister of Finance, under supervision of representatives of three Shanghai bankers' associations. The report definitely rejects plans for currency unification on a silver basis.

A new Sino-Japanese tariff agreement was initialed at Nanking on March 12. It was reported from Shanghai that its terms include virtually reciprocal tariff arrangements, together with approval of the Nishihara loans of 1918 and 1919, whose validity Chinese leaders have repeatedly denied. It is expected that a treaty of amity and commerce will replace the one which the Nanking authorities refused to renew in 1928.

**JAPAN**—A three-day celebration, beginning on March 24, marked the formal completion of the reconstruction work in Tokio made necessary by the earthquake and fire of Sept. 1, 1923. An outlay of about \$369,500,000 has resulted in the building of a city which in a unique degree blends Oriental with Occidental features. The cornerstone of the first unit of the new St. Luke's International Medical Centre in Tokio was laid March 28. The new institution, replacing the hospital destroyed by the earthquake in 1923, will cost \$6,000,000, and is intended as a monument to Japanese-American cooperation.

Agitation is developing in Japan against the proposed Indian cotton tariff, and representatives of the textile industry, whose interests seem to be threatened by the new scale of duties, have urged Foreign Minister Shidehara to take the matter up with the British Government. The proposed tariff is declared by Finance Minister Inouye to be a breach of the Anglo-Japanese commercial treaty.

The basic principles of the Korean autonomy plan, formulated by Viscount Saito, Governor General of Korea, received the approval of the Cabinet on March 11.



# To and From Our Readers

[The Editor assumes no responsibility for unsolicited manuscripts unless accompanied by return postage. Anonymous communications will be disregarded, but the names of correspondents will be withheld from publication upon request.]

## ENFORCEMENT OF PROHIBITION

### *To the Editor of Current History:*

Professor Hart seems depressed over the present condition of the prohibition issue. Many of us share his feeling. The increase of lawlessness and actual crime since the Eighteenth Amendment went on the books is startling. But he is, I think, wrong in assuming that good citizens have in any way changed in their feelings. They have not shifted to a support of liquor, but their attitude has, as a protest against the Anti-Saloon League and its methods. We believe that when an amendment to the Constitution is obtained through blackmail and bribery a greater damage to the morals of the country than anything the saloon men could possibly do is done.

There may have been thirty-one prohibition States before 1919, but not one enforced the laws in full and I doubt if any intended to. Maine, for example, is mentioned. I was in the State years ago. Biddeford was not dry. There was a bar in the Old Orchard Beach Hotel. The Preble House had one and I was informed that all the other hotels in Portland had bars also. The condition, so I was told, was the same in the interior of the State—a statement I can readily credit when I recall that a few years later when a State campaign was on and the question of repeal was discussed, the charge was made that the Boston liquor dealers were against it, because, if it carried, Portland and not Boston could supply the demand. I was in most if not all of the dry States and the condition was the same. I voted for the State amendment in Michigan with considerable misgivings. I hope that I may be forgiven for my cowardice.

J. WARD WICKERSHAM, M. D.

Indianapolis, Ind.

### *To the Editor of Current History:*

Professor Albert Bushnell Hart's article in *MARCH CURRENT HISTORY* on the problem of enforcing prohibition was masterly. The greatest difficulty in all laws relating to liquor traffic is to keep such traffic away from those who commercialize vice. It is this class that made public dangers first of the saloons and now of speakeasies and bootlegging. Control systems do more to keep liquor traffic away from vice than any other laws ever did. For this reason I advocate State dispensaries for liquor sale under strict laws strictly enforced. Let such manufacture be under State inspectors, as our banks are. Canada and Sweden are getting most excellent results from such systems, far better than we or any one else ever did in any

other way. Unless we adopt State control the gangsters, racketeers and criminals will have a wealth of "easy money" and become a still greater menace to law and order, morals, government, liberty, security and all we most prize.

Clarence True Wilson, Dr. Cherrington, Dr. McBride and their partisans are only begging the questions involved in their recent utterances. The Eighteenth Amendment was a colossal blunder. It never would have been ratified if we had been represented in our Legislatures proportionally by voters instead of by districts, by "people instead of acres," according to a recent critic.

JAMES H. S. BATES.

Olympia, Wash.

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## AMERICAN ACHIEVEMENTS IN HAITI

### *To the Editor of Current History:*

I read with gratification the article "American Achievements in Haiti," by R. Nelson Fuller in your April issue because of the highly beneficial part our country has played in that chaotic republic. The oppositionists have been expressing with such acerbity their denunciation of our interference in Haiti that one is forced to feel that in the enthusiasm of their hostile criticism they have ignored the factor of justice and have failed utterly to acknowledge credit where it is undeniably due. While we have not been infallible, our intervention has not been as deadly and unfruitful as the resisting forces would have us believe.

HARRIET HARBAUGH.

New York City.

### *To the Editor of Current History:*

I had the privilege last year of spending ten days in Haiti, meeting Haitians and Americans stationed there and noting conditions and developments. From my observation I am impressed by the fair picture given by R. Nelson Fuller in your April issue, and I wish to thank you for making these facts known at this time.

ELIZABETH C. F. MORRIS.

New York City.

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## THE BLACK HAND.

### *To the Editor of Current History:*

In your March issue in the symposium captioned "War Guilt Controversy," Herr Alfred von Wegerer discusses the recently published Austrian Foreign Office documents relating to the pre-war period of 1908 to 1914. In his discussion Herr von Wegerer speaks of "the assassination of the Archduke Heir Apparent that was prepared and carried out by the Black Hand." To what group or organization does Herr von Wegerer refer in using the term "Black Hand?"

The term "Black Hand," in pre-war days in Serbia, was very loosely applied to two

distinct groups, absolutely different in their political, social and intellectual composition. One was the Bosnian Terrorist organization, and the other was one of the two opposing factions into which after 1906 the group of Serb army officers that actively participated in the events of June, 1903, had divided.

The Bosnian Terrorist Organization was founded in the early '90s in Constantinople by a small group of Bosnian emigrants, desperate characters, both Moslem and Christian. After 1903 its headquarters were in the Serb kingdom. It possessed no constructive political program and its efforts were limited more or less to retaliatory terrorist action against Austro-Hungarian government officials in Bosnia and other South Slav lands of old Austria-Hungary.

The perpetrators of each individual terrorist deed were for the most part not members but agents especially recruited for the occasion. Testimony given at Sarajevo at the trial of the assassins of the Austrian Archduke provides evidence of that method. Milan Ciganovich, one of the leading members of the Bosnian Terrorist Organization, is seen in that testimony as organizer and as supervisor of the deed. Princip and his companions who committed the deed were agents only, recruited especially for the occasion.

The minutes of the trial at Saloniki in 1917 of the leaders of the Serb army officers' faction dubbed the "Black Hand" (in which trial before a military court the judges were officers belonging to the opposing faction called the "White Hand") tell of the activities of the faction nicknamed the "Black Hand." In these minutes are incorporated among other papers also the diary of Colonel Vemich, which covers day by day the activities of this faction from 1909 till 1915, including the organization of the secret society "Ujedinjenje ili Smrt" (Unification or Death). A printed abstract of the minutes of the Saloniki trial shows that in 1909 this group of officers reviewed the internal political situation and concluded that there might arise in the interest of the country a necessity to change again the dynasty or form of government; that the secret society "Ujedinjenje ili Smrt" was organized for the specific purpose of constructive national work in Macedonia; that this society was modeled after the Macedonian Interior Revolutionary Organization and that its membership was composed mainly of officers belonging to the faction known as the "Black Hand." This printed abstract tells us further that after the Balkan wars the meetings of that secret society were entirely devoted to discussions dealing with the internal political and constitutional questions basic to the conflict between army and government, which followed immediately demobilization and which culminated in May and June, 1914, in a crisis that menaced the government and dynasty. This crisis was not the climax of a quarrel between insubordinate soldiers and legally constituted civilian authority, but of a question of constitutional legality in which the soldier stood for the observance of the fundamental laws of country, while the crown and government represented a flouting of those fundamental laws.

In the midst of this crisis, which fully absorbed the energy and time of that group of officers led by Colonel Dimitrijevic, came the news of the Sarajevo crime, and its sequence, the grave international crisis, which called the army back to its duty to defend the integrity of the country and the independence of the nation against a foreign foe.

LAZAROVICH-HREBELIANOVICH.

New York City.

#### GERMANY'S WAR RESPONSIBILITY *To the Editor of Current History:*

Professor Slosson's article in your March issue on the war responsibility of Germany clearly shows how difficult it must be for an American to understand European politics. His opinion on Germany's part is based on what von Jagow said on an occasion in 1914 and on marginal comments of the Kaiser. The latter, with all his foolish blustering, would have been the last man to start a war of aggression, and nobody knew this better than the French, British and Russian wire-pullers, whose principal worry was how to create a situation where he was compelled to fight. To mention one thing: Was it a step toward peace or was it part of a well-planned conspiracy when France in the years before the war advanced billions to Russia with the express understanding that this money should be used for the construction of strategic railroads leading to Germany's eastern frontier?

In his book *Adventure*, published recently, General E. C. B. Seely, War Minister under Asquith in 1912, brazenly admits and tells the whole story of how France and England laid their plans for the war which he says was sure to come. Is the fact that the Allies had reached a secret understanding about dividing the spoils before the outbreak of the war not a grave proof of a conspiracy on their part? And by what else but a conspiracy was America dragged into the war? It could not be accomplished by telling the truth and so it had to be done through a campaign of lies and by influencing the newspapers.

How can Berchtold be called the author of the war? Did he commit the murder of Sarajevo? You cannot convince any unbiased person who is given the facts of this crime that anybody else but the men behind the murderer were the authors of the war—the Serbian Government by its own admittance, and France and Russia behind Serbia, with England as usual in the background. The vile murderer whose shot was to be the death signal for ten million men is Serbia's national hero today. That says more than a volume of controversy.

There was one man who could have prevented the disaster of 1914. Grey was the only man who could have prevented the Russian mobilization, but he was careful not to do it. Naturally, because he was bound by his secret understandings with the French and Russians, understandings which he had been very cautious to keep to himself. He fooled his own colleagues just as much as he fooled Germany. And what a fine proof of sincerity did Poincaré give when he advised Russia to countermand the mobilization order for the sake of appearances, but to continue it secretly! It is the cheapest kind of argument to

say that the Kaiser finally gave in to the German war party. He had either to fight at once or else see his country overrun by millions of Cossacks.

RICHARD SCHELLENS.

Asheville, N. C.

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#### CANADA'S LOYALTY TO THE CROWN

*To the Editor of Current History:*

Replying to Mr. John Hall Stewart's letter in your February issue, in which he comments on my article, "Canada's Loyalty to the Crown," published in November CURRENT HISTORY:

Mr. Stewart denies that the Canadian is a "good American" unless I use the word in the sense of North American. I used it in a still broader sense, namely, any citizen of the Western Hemisphere, and deliberately and carefully avoided using "American" as synonymous with "citizen of the United States," employing the larger term whenever I wished to refer to my compatriots.

Mr. Stewart says that the Canadian is not averse to being considered a British subject. I found some (of both stocks) who are. Mr. Stewart also says that the Canadian never or rarely gives a thought to constitutional continuity. Exactly—that is why he cannot explain his loyalty to an outsider. "Queer people, these Canadians," says Mr. Stewart. Perhaps, but I have not found them so, but generally admirable and lovable, making me proud to have Canada for a neighbor.

MILLEDDGE L. BONHAM JR.

Paris, France.

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#### "THE HISTORICAL SCHOOL FOR SCANDAL"

*To the Editor of Current History:*

May I voice what I believe is the consensus of opinion of the younger generation in favor of the stand taken by Professor Albert Bushnell Hart in his article entitled "The Modern Historical School for Scandal," published in your February issue? True, these young hero-worshippers want the truth about our national heroes, but they want constructive truth and not what the barnyard school of would-be historians, as Professor Hart very aptly terms them, thinks they want. These ultra-modern biographies of Washington and other eminent men made a great impression before most readers had time to consider that journalist-biographers were trying to picture seventeenth and eighteenth century men in the light of twentieth century conditions and were making a dismal fail-

ure of it. As a high school teacher of history I believe that it is unethical, if not unpatriotic, to put George Washington and John L. Sullivan in the same picture.

HAROLD D. BEADLE.

Albion, Mich.

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#### AMERICAN TOURISTS IN FRANCE

*To the Editor of Current History:*

According to information issued by the French Tourist Office in Paris, it is estimated that \$200,000,000 was spent by approximately 220,000 United States tourists in France during 1929. Assuming that this information is authentic, it is ignominious that at least 220,000 Americans have entirely forgotten the old slogan, "See America First." How many of this number who were touring France in 1929, spending on the average of \$869.57 per capita, have ever spent as much, in the same length of time, in touring America? If these tourists had spent their American dollars in seeing America first they would have kept American dollars, earned in America, in American pockets, thereby directly benefiting American industry, American labor, American progress and American business, without which there can be no America.

ARTHUR KEENE.

New York City.

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#### YUGOSLAV NATIONALISM

*To the Editor of Current History:*

With reference to the statement in your March issue (Page 1,225) that considerable feeling has been aroused in Central Europe by the publication of a military handbook in Belgrade in which it is openly stated that Yugoslavia's foreign enemies are Italians, Austrians, Hungarians and Bulgarians, I should like to say that Central Europe has a right to be alarmed if Serb jingoes are permitted to run wild, for even now in their own country sparks are flying about which may easily start another and greater conflagration. The Croats, Macedonians and Montenegrins are struggling, or beginning to struggle, for their nationhood, while the Albanians, Moslems and others are marking time. Yugoslavia is boiling and the danger is great. Intelligent people in the great nations of the world apparently look with contempt upon nationalism, but the people of the smaller nations are making incredible sacrifices to make it a live issue. Let us have more light upon their valiant efforts.

JOHN PODA.

Akron, Ohio.

# BOOKS OF THE MONTH

Continued from Page 223

headway. Here are set forth, summarily but with a good deal of persuasiveness, the record of progress in such matters as a minimum wage and family allowances, social insurance, consumers' cooperation and cooperative marketing, and the arguments which commend or criticize such movements or reforms as the organization and education of workers, government control of industry, the trend toward public ownership, taxation, the social control of credit and economic cooperation in the international field. The tone throughout is one of moderation without indefiniteness, of reliance upon practical results to demonstrate the soundness of the theory, and of hopefulness. The point of view is well illustrated by the remark of Professor Harry F. Ward, in his chapter entitled "A Strategy for Creating a New Economic Order," that "the development of a successful strategy for economic transformation depends upon sufficient awareness of the need of change, experimental knowledge of the directions in which to move and willingness to pay the price of progress."

## India's Political Crisis

By CHARLES JOHNSTON

INDIA has accomplished great things in the past. Certain races among the immensely varied populations of that great expanse of hills and plains have shown a genius for spiritual thought and expression, notably the martial peoples of Rajputana, to whom belonged great national heroes like Rama, Krishna and Gautama Buddha. The Rajputs have been not less renowned for heroic valor and chivalry. Other races, notably the black Dravidians of the South, have for many centuries been highly gifted craftsmen and artisans, weavers of muslins, workers in gold and silver and bronze, builders of "sky-scrapers," as they called



Wide World  
MAHATMA GANDHI

the immense temples of Southern India. It is, therefore, greatly to be desired that the creative genius of India should have full scope, not only for the sake of India, but in view of the gifts of spiritual thinking which the India of the future may confer upon the world.

A student who holds these considerations in view, and whose knowledge of India does not date from yesterday, is likely to read William I. Hull's book\* with a sense of unreality, a feeling of walking through a mist. He describes a "National Congress" held at Calcutta fifteen months ago as though it were fully representative of the past genius and future promise of a great Oriental people. But the noteworthy thing about this "National Congress" is that, in the strict sense, it is not representative at all. The "Congressmen," as they call themselves, are not chosen by genuine constituencies which include the greater part of India. They have no genuine delegated authority to speak for the mass of their countrymen. They have no clear status, even within the meeting of the "Congress" itself, as is demonstrated by the proposal made at Calcutta, to disfranchise 5,000 out of the 6,000 "Congressmen," apparently in order to give the remaining thousand a larger opportunity to talk. One gains the impression that the only element of India adequately represented is the English-speaking minority of lawyers, schoolmasters and journalists.

Nor is the plan for India's future, which this unrepresentative body produced, any more reassuring, especially in view of the fact that it was entirely superseded by the plans of a later Congress which met three months ago. One might hope for some form of polity genuinely growing from the past of India's many races and territorial divisions, and having a due relation to the widely different genius of so many races. But we have instead nothing more than an imitation of English Parliamentary government, to be imposed ready-made upon India, whereas that system took centuries to grow in England itself. Finally, the "National Congress" at Calcutta unconsciously paid England a gigantic compliment by voting that English should be the future national language of India, perhaps side by side with Hindi, on the ground that only in

\**India's Political Crisis*. By William I. Hull, Ph. D. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press. \$2.



English can the political-minded lawyers and schoolmasters communicate with each other.

It may be written in the book of Destiny that India at some future time will once again hold a high place among the nations, but one is not persuaded that any real progress is being made toward that goal by the voluble agitators who today assume that they represent India.

## *Danger Spots in World Population*

By HENRY PRATT FAIRCHILD

PROFESSOR OF SOCIOLOGY, NEW YORK UNIVERSITY

IN his introduction to the American edition of Major Leonard Darwin's *What Is Eugenics?* President Angell of Yale expresses the conviction "that the population problem is going quickly to take on vastly greater importance than it has ever

before enjoyed," making it clear that he has in mind both the quantitative and qualitative aspects. In an address delivered at the last annual meeting of the American Birth Control League, the Rev. Harry Emerson Fosdick characterized the population problem as the most important social question before the



ROBERT MALTHUS

world today. These statements are representative of many indications that an entirely new conception of population, particularly in its numerical aspects, is already dawning on the horizon. A definite science of population is in the making. We are already leaving behind Malthus's conception of population increase as a monstrous, menacing force which we may deal with as valiantly as possible, but which we must always approach in fear, and which will always succeed in plunging us more or less deeply into inexorable misery. In its place we are erecting a conception of numerical population as a potent but manageable factor in human welfare, to be calmly studied and rationally manipulated

just like an agricultural system, a political organization, or a public school establishment.

Characteristic of this new approach is the present volume by Professor Thompson.\* In fact, one of its weaknesses is that it is too advanced in its assumptions. The author appears to believe that there is some hope of inducing certain of the nations of the world, for purely population reasons, to relinquish voluntarily some of their land holdings to less favorably situated nations. However visionary this particular aspiration may be, the fact remains that Professor Thompson treats population as a problem to be scientifically studied, dispassionately analyzed and purposefully manipulated, on the basis of international understanding and tolerance. This, in itself, is enough to overshadow any flaws in the book.

Boiled down to its essence, the thesis of this work is that there exist in the world certain areas where population is today at such high pressure and is increasing so rapidly that a state of very unequal tension is set up between them and other more sparsely settled countries. Such peoples cannot be expected to endure their painful situation inertly. Unless some pacific form of relief is afforded, war will be the inevitable last resort. The only ultimate peaceful solution is to be found in birth control. But while we are waiting for this expedient to make its way in countries where the traditional obstacles are great, the best temporary means of alleviation is to be found in the voluntary assignment of land, by nations who have more than they are using or are likely to use, to the "swarming" peoples.

The question is pertinent whether, with mankind what it is, Professor Thompson has not reversed the order of application of these two measures. There is much reason to believe that it would be a sounder and safer policy to insist that a "swarming" nation should demonstrate that it can and will utilize birth control to the extent of stopping its swarming, as a prerequisite to recognition of its claim to more land. Otherwise, we might find that we had used up all our spare land and still had more swarming people than ever demanding relief.

But apart from these controversial points—or perhaps in addition to these controversial points—the book is of tre-

\**Danger Spots in World Population.* By Warren S. Thompson. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1929. \$4.

mendous importance. The more widely it is read the more fully will thinking people grasp the important part played by population in international antagonism, and so the nearer will come the day of world peace.

## Cardinal Newman

By RALSTON HAYDEN

PROFESSOR OF POLITICAL SCIENCE, UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

**J** LEWIS MAY'S *Cardinal Newman*\* will be received with gratitude by that not inconsiderable group of readers that still wishes to preserve its heroes and has not become wholly addicted to jazz biography. It may, indeed,



CARDINAL NEWMAN

give pleasure to a much larger public; often the first rate achieves a wider popularity than is anticipated by the cynic. And this is a first-rate literary biography of a man of first importance whose fascination for his fellow-men rests upon deep foundations.

Mr. May has not sought to record the details of John Henry Newman's life, or to follow Newman's intricate reasoning upon theological doctrine. Mr. Wilfred Ward has done that, "once and for all." Rather, his aim has been to "convey to the general reader some impression of Newman's influence on one who, though not a theologian nor worthy to be the champion of any school of religious thought, nor deeply versed in Science or Philosophy, is, nevertheless, as he trusts, not wholly insensible to Beauty, whether in literature, in nature or in human life." Mr. May, whose translations from Anatole France have caused the world to recognize him as an artist in literary style, has thus interpreted one of his countrymen who brought supreme mastery of English prose to the support of deep religious conviction and who, because he

was artist as well as saint, followed whither his spirit led him, regardless of all other considerations.

In the hands of such a biographer the qualities that made Newman great and the progressive drama of his life could hardly fail to be vividly portrayed. All the important episodes of his career are developed with a skill that makes clear their effect upon his own character and his relations with the external world. Particularly effective is the author's interpretation of Newman's relations with the Roman hierarchy. From the days when the new convert was first kept in futile dalliance at the Papal Court, through the long, dreary years of open neglect and covert opposition Newman is thwarted and frustrated by The Machine. Yet, through these sore vicissitudes, the weary pilgrim is sustained by the affection of his little group of devoted friends and by his supreme faith. "It would be a fundamental error to suppose that Newman regretted his conversion." He himself said, "I have not a shadow of misgiving that the Catholic Church and its doctrines are directly from God; but then I know well that there is, in particular quarters, a narrowness which is not of God."

Every great religion has had its Newmans; and every Church its Mannings, Cullens and Talbots. With Manning, Newman's biographer deals with a restraint which was not displayed by the author of *Eminent Victorians*. A "splendid character, a man of iron will which, as Newman himself said, must needs 'bend or break all that is opposed to it,' Cardinal Manning served according to his nature the Church which knew so well how to use his peculiar talents." Yet, in conclusion, Manning "had a fine brain, but no mind." And "where brains come into opposition with mind, it is mind that wins the final battle, whatever temporary losses brains may inflict upon it in the course of the conflict. \* \* \* It would perhaps be unjust to call such a man as Manning a mediocrity. He belonged in the war-service classification to the B-1 category. Newman belonged to no category, for genius defies classification. He was in a double sense an anachronism—far behind and far in front of his own times. He reached back to Athanasius and anticipated Darwin. Manning was a man of his own day and died with it."

Although it would be unfair to classify Mr. May's volume as an "occasional" biography, yet a sympathetic life of the genius

\**Cardinal Newman*. By J. Lewis May. New York: Lincoln MacVeagh, The Dial Press. 1930. \$3.50.

of the Oxford movement can hardly fail to have its influence in the struggle by which the Church of England of today is seeking to release itself from State control over its religious life. How many Englishmen in 1930 are torn by the same inward struggle that surged through Newman's being a century ago! The essential issue has not greatly changed. "Belief in the Real Presence was not common in the English Church in those days," writes May. "In these, there are multitudes of sincere people who derive the same 'incomprehensible blessing' as that of which Newman speaks, from the presence in their churches of the Blessed Sacrament. But, legally, that blessing is denied to them. Not in an aumbry, not even in a vestry, is it lawful to reserve the Sacred Elements. It is as though the Anglican's desires were baffled and curtailed at every point by some vexatious 'Dora' that grudgingly bestows a gift and then snatches it away again, and fetters the worship of God with an infinity of ecclesiastical red tape." Thus does the biographer of the great Tractarian deal with a House of Commons that imposes a stern legal bar to Anglican progress along the road that, in Newman's case, led to Rome.

Mr. May's most definite contribution to new understanding of this great Victorian churchman is made in two anti-climactic chapters upon Newman's place in the world of literature. Here he is placed "among the highest." Yet the reader is never allowed to forget that it is because his literary genius served only as the handmaiden of his religious spirit that Newman's name will shine forever with a lustre that mere literary greatness could never have given it.

### *The Dictionary of American Biography, Vol. IV*

THE American Council of Learned Societies has for the fourth time prepared for the American public a volume amazing in variety of interest and excellence of presentation.\* This book it would well repay the layman as well as

the scholar to devote considerable time to reading, if not straight through the volume, at least, a large part of it. If the average reader should have time for the entire volume, he will close it with a sense of intimate personal contact with the history of these United States since the first settlements in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.

Beginning chronologically with John Cotton, the Nonconformist English minister who became one of Boston's most reactionary Puritans, through a long list of politicians, explorers, sculptors, journalists and other men and women of note, the fourth volume of American national biography leads one, often by side-paths but always pointing out the main road, through the social, political and economic course of American development. There is the story of early New England settlement, written by James Truslow Adams, in the life of Roger Conant, who is said by some to have founded the town of Salem, Mass. There is the growth of the frontier in the explorations of George Rogers Clark, and of William Clark after him. Some of the story of the American Revolution appears in the life of John S. Copley, the painter; in the life of the Frenchman, Michel-Guillaume Crèvecoeur, who became French Consul in New York City after the formation of the Republic, and of John Cheverus, the first Catholic Bishop of Boston. From that time on until the World War our political history unfolds in the lives of such men as Henry Clay, Salmon P. Chase, Caleb Cushing, Grover Cleveland. The early days of Jeffersonian democracy are reflected in the lives of New England sea captains—Jacob Crowninshield, who sailed vessels in the China trade and who was also a merchant and a Congressman, and Joseph P. Cressy of Marblehead, who captained the clipper Flying Cloud on its record-breaking voyage to San Francisco from Boston in the 1850s.

Perhaps one of the most interesting of the chronicles, which includes in its scope the cultural, political and diplomatic history of the last half of the nineteenth and the first decade of the twentieth century, is the life of Joseph Hodges Choate by Frederick C. Hicks. After practicing law for nearly forty years in New York, he was appointed, in 1899, Ambassador to the Court of St. James's, and as such took part in the settlement of the Canadian-American dispute over the Alaskan boundary, the abrogation of the Clayton-Bul-

\**The Dictionary of American Biography*. Vol. IV: Chanfrau to Cushing. Under the Auspices of the American Council of Learned Societies. Edited by Allen Johnson and Dumas Malone. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1930.

wer treaty in connection with the Panama Canal, and the enforcement of the Hay doctrine of the Open Door in China. He became during his life in New York City one of its leading citizens, well known for his non-political, cultural and humanitarian activities. Mr. Hicks has given a vivid picture of Joseph Choate and a brilliant glimpse into the history of the period.

There are many others. Jonas Chickering, a pioneer in the development of the modern piano; William Ellery Channing, the clergyman who led the Unitarian movement joined by Emerson, Bryant, Longfellow and Lowell; Mark Twain, whose life by Carl Van Doren sends the reader straight back to *Huckleberry Finn* and *Tom Sawyer*; James Fenimore Cooper by the same contributor, who writes a keen and pointed characterization: Buffalo Bill, Elizabeth Comstock, the Quaker minister; Ezra Cornell, Cornstalk, the Shawnee Indian chief, and Crazy Horse, the Sioux leader of a later generation; Lotta Crabtree, Victor Chapman, the first pilot of the Lafayette Escadrille to be killed in action; and Chang and Eng, the Siamese twins.—M. K. M.

## Recent Important Books

By JAMES THAYER GEROULD

LIBRARIAN, PRINCETON UNIVERSITY

### BIOGRAPHY

CHINARD, GILBERT, edited by. *The Letters of Lafayette and Jefferson*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1930. \$8.50.

This correspondence, which covers the years from 1781 to 1830, throws much new light on the relations of France and the United States during that period, and on the personalities of the men concerned.

GARDINER, ALEXANDER. *Canfield: The True Story of the Greatest Gambler*. Garden City: Doubleday, Doran, 1930. \$2.50.

A picturesque history of the most famous of American gamblers, whose house, next door to Delmonico's on Forty-fourth Street, was one of the sights of the New York of the '90s.

MARTET, JEAN. *Clemenceau: The Events of His Life as Told by Himself to His Former Secretary*. Translated by M. Waldman. New York: Longmans, 1930. \$5.

Of value as showing Clemenceau's estimate of his own accomplishments, as a contribution to history, rather than as history itself.

SPENDER, J. A. *Weetman Pearson, First*

*Viscount Cowdray*. London: Cassell, 1929. 21 shillings.

Lord Cowdray's accomplishments as an engineer and contractor for great public works, and the story of his development of the Mexican oil industry, form the subject of this most interesting book.

### ECONOMICS

DUBREUIL, H. *Robots or Men: A French Workman's Experience in American Industry*. Translated by F. and M. Merrill. New York: Harper, 1930. \$3.

An exceedingly well written and thoughtful portrayal of the differences between French and American industry, by a man who has had inside experience in both systems.

HAIG, ROBERT MURRAY, and others. *The Public Finances of Post-War France*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1929. \$5.50.

The first volume of a series, "Social and Economic Studies of Post-War France," presenting the results of an extensive study made by a large staff, working with the cooperation of the Ministry of Finance, of the tangled record of France's finances since the war.

KEEZER, DEXTER M., and MAY, STACY. *The Public Control of Business: A Study of Anti-Trust Law Enforcement, Public Interest Regulation and Government Participation in Business*. New York: Harper, 1930. \$3.

The continued growth of our enormous aggregations of capital makes their proper control, in the public interest, a most important and pressing political problem. This study assembles the facts on which a program must be based.

KOBAYASHI, USHISABURO. *The Basic Industries and Social History of Japan, 1914-1918*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1930. \$4.

The most recent volume in the Carnegie Endowment's Economic and Social History of the World War. Discusses the effect of the war on agriculture and agricultural products, on mining and metallurgy, and on the social structure generally.

LE DAME, MARY. *The Filene Store: A Study of Employes' Relation to Management in a Retail Store*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1930. \$2.50.

An excellent account of an example of successful cooperation in management, a system that is rapidly gaining ground in American industry.

### HISTORY

HOLCOMBE, ARTHUR M. *The Chinese Revolution: A Phase in the Regeneration of a World Power*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1930. \$3.50.

One of the very best of recent studies of China. A sympathetic analysis of the forces that are creating a new China.

PAXSON, FREDERIC LOGAN. *When the West Is Gone*. New York: Holt, 1930. \$2.

Three lectures, delivered at Brown University, in which the author, a leading American historian, develops the idea that the pioneer life of the West has produced



a political type which will be persistent in our national history.

#### POLITICAL SCIENCE

CHILDS, HARWOOD LAWRENCE. *Labor and Capital in National Politics*. Columbus, Ohio State University Press, 1930. \$3.

Discusses the influence of the American Federation of Labor and of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States in determining political action.

CONWELL-EVANS, T. P. *The League Council in Action*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1929. \$4.50.

A study of the methods employed by the League Council to prevent war and to settle international disputes. Deals with actual practice rather than with theory, and shows that conciliation, rather than arbitration, is the method most used.

FLEMING, DENNA FRANK. *The Treaty Veto of the American Senate*. New York: Putnam's, 1930. \$3.

A review of the participation of the Senate in treaty making and of the perennial conflict on this subject with the President.

LATIMER, HUGH. *Naval Disarmament: A Brief Record From the Washington Conference to Date*. London: Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1930. 3s 6d.

A useful compendium of such progress toward disarmament as has been made up to the opening of the London Conference. Factual rather than argumentative.

#### SOCIOLOGY.

BENT, SILAS. *Machine Made Man*. New York: Farrar and Rinehart, 1930. \$3.

Mr. Bent rises to the defense of our much criticized machine civilization by showing the progress that has been made in many lines of human endeavor.

DENNETT, MRS. MARY WARE. *Who's Obscene?* New York: Vanguard, 1930. \$2.50.

An account of the trial and acquittal of Mrs. Dennett for circulating her pamphlet, "The Sex Side of Life," with a reprint of the pamphlet itself. An important document in the struggle to secure a more decent censorship.

DUFFUS, R. L. *Mastering a Metropolis: Planning the Future of the New York Region*. New York: Harper, 1930. \$3.

Our progressive urbanization is compelling the consideration, in city planning, of the tributary area. While this study primarily relates to New York, many of the principles laid down have equal application in all our larger centres.

PUPIN, MICHAEL. *Romance of the Machine*. New York: Scribner, 1930. \$1.

A short defense of our "machine" civilization, claiming for it a degree of idealism with which it is not ordinarily credited.

#### MISCELLANEOUS

FISHBEIN, MORRIS. *Shattering Health's Superstitions: An Explosion of False Theories and Notions in the Field of Health and Popular Medicine*. New York: Liveright, 1930. \$2.

The editor of The Journal of the American Medical Association continues his warfare on fake medicine.

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# World Finance—A Month's Survey

By BERNHARD OSTROLENK

EDITORIAL BOARD, *The Annalist*; FORMERLY LECTURER ON FINANCE,  
UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

**S**HARP LIQUIDATION of finance and business activity which began last November in the United States has continued unabated during the first four months of 1930. Reserve Bank credit outstanding on April 4 totaled \$1,081,000,000, a decrease from the December peak of \$658,000,000. This sharp decrease is largely confined to bills discounted by member banks and shows that member banks have ample credit available to finance local business without calling for help on the Federal Reserve System. In fact virtually all Reserve Banks have lowered their discount rates in an effort to encourage business revival. Reserve Banks at Dallas, Minneapolis, St. Louis, Atlanta and Richmond, formerly on a 5 per cent basis, have reduced their discount rates to  $4\frac{1}{2}$  per cent; Boston, Philadelphia, Cleveland, Chicago, Kansas City and San Francisco have changed from  $4\frac{1}{2}$  to 4 per cent and New York discount rates now are  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent.

Not only has money been made cheaper but open market purchases of bills and government securities by the Federal Reserve Board have added to the easy money situation. Bills bought, by April 4, amounted to \$301,000,000 compared with \$296,000,000 in November; purchases of government securities at \$530,000,000 are at the highest point in several years and compare with the 1929 low in July of \$147,000,000 and the high in December of \$446,000,000. On the other hand, there has been a sharp drop in bank deposits, resources for the member banks of the New York Federal Reserve district having declined \$1,354,513,603 during the first quarter of 1930. All commercial rates have been operating within close proximity of the discount rate. Acceptance rates at 3.06 per cent, the average for March, is at the lowest point since January, 1925. Commercial paper for

4-6 months has averaged 4.24 per cent and call money for renewal averaged 3.77 per cent.

In face of this easy money situation it is not surprising that the stock market has shown considerable strength. A group of 43 stocks used as group average by *The Annalist* shows an advance of 12 per cent during the first three months of 1930. Not all stocks have advanced uniformly. Steep advances were made by utilities and by the average of thirty-three industrials; with moderate advances of oils, rubber and railroads. Stocks of merchandise corporations have declined; coppers are lower, and motor stocks show only slight advances.

This advance of stocks is being looked upon with some concern, in part because a secondary reaction of the stock market is expected and because those interested in a sound revival of business feel that this activity reflects a speculative revival based on the present situation of easy money. In fact, a considerable part of the advance in stock prices has had a sympathetic rise in brokers' loans. On April 3 brokers' loans had risen to a total of \$3,968,000,000, a record high for 1930 and \$544,000,000 above the figure of Dec. 31, 1929. One feature of the situation is that these brokers' loans are being financed almost exclusively by the banks and mostly by the New York reporting banks for their own account. Brokers' loans for New York reporting banks have increased from \$886,000,000 on Jan. 8 to \$1,547,000,000 on April 2; for out of town banks the increase during the period has not been as steep but still amounts to \$280,000,000. On the other hand, brokers' loans for account of others has decreased \$326,000,000. This would indicate that corporations are finding it to their advantage to employ their surplus funds elsewhere than on the market, or may also show that

surplus funds are not so plentiful. In fact, this point finds some confirmation in the rapid increase which has occurred in the use of commercial paper for short term financing. From a low of \$265,000,000 outstanding at the end of last September, the total has risen to the end of February to \$457,000,000. Seasonally adjusted, this would mean an increase of 70 per cent, making the total the highest since Aug. 31, 1928.

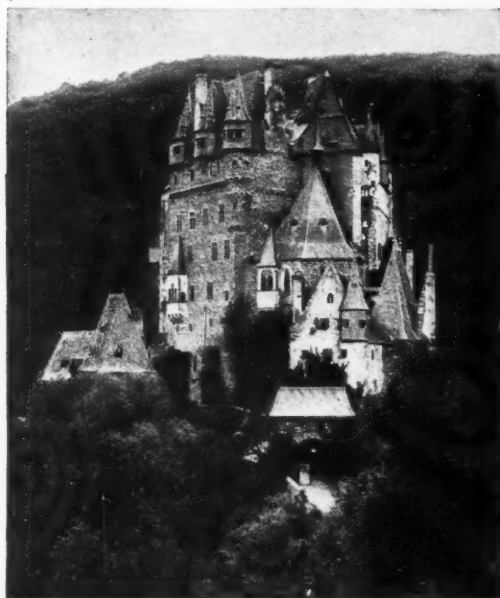
New notes have also been struck in regard to American foreign trade policies. Owen D. Young, in a speech to university students, has pointed out that American future prosperity must be built on a recognition of the importance of international trade, a trade that includes the free flow of goods in and out of the country. In a similar vein is a recent book, *America Looks Abroad*, by Paul Mazur, a prominent New York banker, who departs widely from the mercantile and chauvinistic view taken by the Congress in drafting the new tariff law.

Movements of gold which for November, December and January had been away from the United States, have reversed their direction. Gold imports exceeded exports during the first three months of 1930 by \$126,976,000 and earmarked gold declined in March by \$13,000,000. Gold holdings of the Reichsbank have reached a 1930 peak at 2,491,789,000 Reichsmark on March 22, an increase of 210,000,000 Reichsmark since Jan. 17. Gold holdings of the Bank of France reached a peak on Feb. 23 at 42,960,000,000 francs, but have declined since to 42,556,000,000 francs on March 29. Gold holdings of the Bank of England reached a 1930 peak on April 3, at £157,125,000, an increase of £6,471,000 since Jan. 16.

In common with the general movement in the United States foreign central banks have gone through a series of reductions in discount rates.

For February and March the French franc has been well below par; the pound sterling was at par during March.

The index for volume of imports for the United States during February, 1930, was 8 per cent below January, and 18 per cent below February, 1929.



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